





*houston to chicago:*

# Serve the People



## vietnam: what now?

The war against the people of Vietnam drags on and on. The peace talks in Paris have failed to produce any real hopes of peace. Nixon and company try to avoid massive anti-war discontent at home with token troop withdrawals, rumors of suspending the draft and vague promises of the war gradually "disappearing" in a few months or years. But hard facts cannot be concealed.

In ten years the U.S. military machine (half a million strong and the best equipped in all history) hasn't even made it ten miles outside Saigon. The will of the Vietnamese to resist the U.S., its handful of allies and the corrupt Saigon government has consistently grown in strength and determination, despite the fact that twice as many bombs have been dropped on their tiny nation as were used in all of World War II.

Despite the destruction of crops and the poisoning of water. Despite thousands of Vietnamese being driven at gun-point into camps that are prisons. Despite the endless torture and murder of people suspected of being Viet Cong or VC supporters. Despite all this and so much more, it is clear that the U.S. has been defeated in Vietnam. Who can seriously doubt that it is only a matter of time until the U.S. is pushed into the sea, just like the French in 1954?

Who has won this struggle? An army of peasants, the National Liberation Front, supported by the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese in the South. Without such virtually complete support, how could the NLF have survived a single month against 60% of the U.S. Army, 50% of the Navy and Air Force, and practically all the Marines?

But the NLF hasn't just survived. It now openly protects and controls all rural areas and even parts of Saigon, by day as well as night. Ask a GI who made it back from Nam about the war, and he will tell you that the "enemy" was everywhere and everyone. It wasn't only the Viet Cong he fought on patrols, but it was every man, woman and child who was Vietnamese. He'll tell you what unwilling fighters the soldiers of the ARVN were and how at the first opportunity they would either desert or join the NLF, taking their guns with them.

The only reliable allies of the U.S. are the landlords, aristocrats and Saigon merchants seeking to preserve their privileges and a share of the profits from U.S. corporations. The U.S. is being beaten by a people united in a struggle for self-determination.

## what's coming down at home?

The burden of the Vietnam War has fallen on the working people in the U.S., not on the corporations. Standard Oil, General Motors, U.S. Steel and IBM haven't fought; poor black, brown and white Americans have paid with more than 35,000 lives and hundreds of thousands of wounds. Corporations don't bleed and die; people do. But the price hasn't only been in blood.

Since the war was somehow supposed to be in the interests of all patriotic Americans, a 10% surtax was demanded. U.S. business hasn't had to part with any of its super-profits being made off the cheap labor and crucial resources of Asia, Africa and Latin America nor its steady income from American workers. In short, in no

damn way do the corporations pick up any portion of the tab for the war nor the cost of protecting their investments throughout the Third World, the future Vietnams.

But there is more to the problem than the surtax, an obviously direct result of the war in Vietnam. Inflation continues to run wild, eating away at the real buying power of average Americans. After taxes (not just the surtax but others, including sales taxes) and payments on their debts, the typical family is left with perhaps 60% of its income. It doesn't take much analyzing to tie the whole inflation crisis into the war and the defense-dominated economy. It's a vicious cycle with the working people of this country getting worse off every week and big business making more and growing stronger. How much more can the people stand?

Black and brown Americans in particular have begun to say that they have had enough. They're fed up with the most tedious jobs, lowest pay, worst living conditions, lousiest education -- the whole mess. Not only are they the most exploited workers in this society, but they are systematically oppressed as black and brown colonies trapped within white America.

Racism surrounds them on and off the job. White supremacy stands in their way to a decent life. When their basic demands are put forward and then followed by struggle, whites freak out. The Black Panthers are jailed, shot down by ghetto cops and incessantly harassed and provoked. Mexican-American and other Spanish-speaking peoples are subjected to the same brutal repression. The war has "suddenly" come home because blacks and browns are starting to fight for their own right of self-determination,

the same freedom the Vietnamese have sacrificed so much to achieve.

But white people are waking up. More every day are realizing they have a common interest with black and brown people and the Vietnamese, and nothing in common with Nelson Rockefeller, Roy Hofheinz and the directors of Houston Endowment. White skin is a basis for unity only in the Ku Klux Klan and the corporate boards of directors. Racism has confused white Americans far too long on the question of who are their real friends and who are their real enemies.

At this point in history, youth -- black, brown and white -- is developing the sharpest understanding of what's wrong and what has to be done to solve the problem. That's why college campuses and high schools erupted last year. It wasn't blind struggle caused by a "failure to communicate" and the "generation gap." It was a revolt against the injustices of this system and their causes, and it was merely the beginning.

## where from here?

A people's movement is being built in this country. A key part of this movement is made up of students and other young people who have been denied the privilege of decent high schools and a college education. On and off the campus, inside and outside the schools, young people are coming together for one purpose: to struggle. Not for the hell of it, but because they understand that it is the only way to turn this country around.

It can't be done through the kind of individual crusades urged by impotent

liberal college professors or through "living the revolution now" by finding a groovy thing to do. It's getting clearer and clearer that serious collective struggle is what it takes. And now is the time to broaden the movement and intensify that struggle.

## chicago october 11

The Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization (a revolutionary Puerto Rican movement) and SDS are calling for the first major national action for this fall. In Chicago on October 8-11, thousands will meet for rallies, demonstrations and marches around several basic demands. While the main demand is U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW, this will not be one of those familiar Washington peace marches with very narrow anti-war politics. Instead, other essential demands are being raised to speak to the needs of millions and to lay the foundation for a mass movement committed to action, not empty talk. The purpose of the Chicago action and the local actions preceeding it is not just to build the white student movement, but to build the people's movement.

These are the demands:

**US GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW** -- No more lies and tricks. All American troops and personnel must be withdrawn from Vietnam immediately. The Vietnamese must have the absolute freedom to decide their own future and the future of their country.

**SUPPORT THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM** -- In June of this year, the National Liberation Front

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# RALLY!

Hermann Park Hill

3:30 p.m. Oct. 4

Speakers include:

Noel Ignatin Chicago Revolutionary League, SDS nat'l. officer

Hilda Vasquez Young Lords Organization  
(revolutionary Puerto Rican group)

plus speakers from Houston SDS, Women's Liberation,  
Space City News, Black Panther Party (tentative)  
and others! Music too.



Sponsored by SDS, North Side  
Revolutionary Youth Movement,  
Space City News

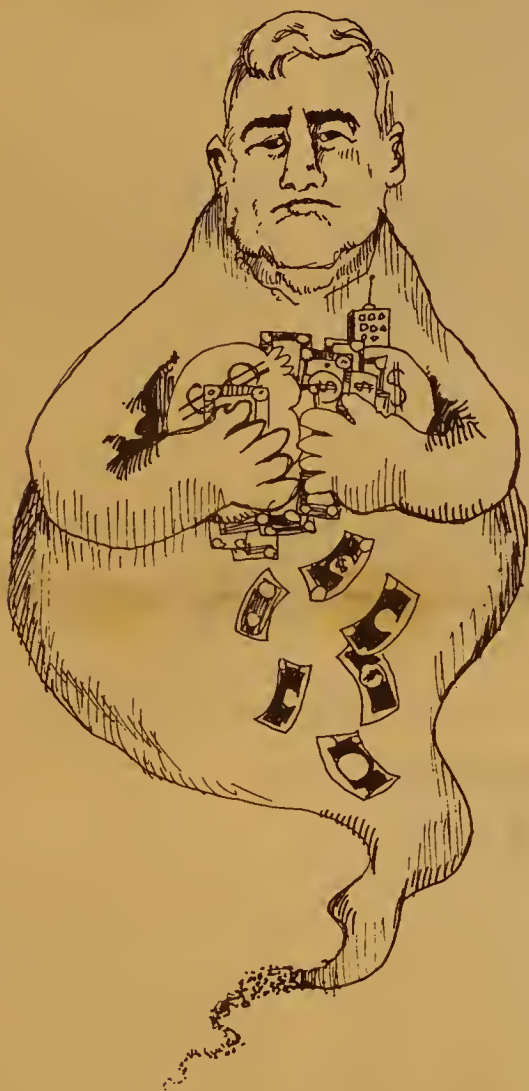
# U S Get Out of Vietnam Now!



# The Jones Empire

## Houston Endowment: Blessed Are the Tax Exempt

By Dennis Fitzgerald, Jeff Shapiro  
and Sue Mithun



**Houston Endowment p. 3**  
**The Chronicle p. 4**  
**Jones Biography p. 5**

For many years before his death in 1956, Jesse H. Jones was Mr. Houston. Today the financial and political assets of his empire lie all around us -- like great pools of oil, exploited by a few men for their personal profit.

The following three articles are a study of power: how it is taken, how it is used and how it is preserved.

The first article discusses the Houston Endowment, Jones' "philanthropic corporation." The Endowment is the fifteenth largest foundation of its kind in the country. As caretakers for the great fortunes built during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these tax free foundations conceal profitable and expanding businesses behind a screen of charitable good works.

The other two articles are a brief biography of Jones, including his 13-year tenure as head of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and some facts and commentary on Uncle Jess' own newspaper, The Houston Chronicle.

Jesse Jones considered himself at all times as a protector of big business. If one needed a simple eulogy for the man, it might be this: In the terms of his own peculiar beliefs, Jesse Holman Jones was one man who always "kept the faith."

The Houston Endowment is the greedy ghost of Jesse Jones.

The foundation was described in a 1966 Atlantic Monthly article as "the largest single corporate force" in the city of Houston. Through the Endowment's ownership of communications media, its board of trustees has played a powerful role in shaping the political and social consciousness of this city. Today it remains as guardian and executor of the Jesse H. Jones financial empire.

Yet it is doubtful that one Houstonian in ten is aware of the Endowment, or would even recognize the name of its President, Joseph Howard Creekmore.

Houston Endowment Inc. was established on Sept. 25, 1937 by the late Jesse H. Jones and his wife Mary Gibbs Jones as a "non-profit, philanthropic corporation." According to its charter: "The purpose for which this corporation is formed is the support of any charitable, educational, or religious undertaking."

The initial capitalization of the Endowment was a gift from Jones in the amount of \$1,050,000. Estimates of its worth today range as high as \$500 million. Not a bad record for a non-profit corporation.

Administering the Endowment in its continuing quest for non-profits is a six-member, self-perpetuating Board of Trustees. Self-perpetuating means that upon the death or resignation of any member, the remaining trustees are empowered to replenish their own ranks. The directors of the Endowment are accountable to no constituency or body of stockholders, but only to their own consciences and the rather lax guidelines which the Treasury Department has seen fit to set out for the operation of such enterprises.

Among its holdings, the Endowment counts "substantial" interests in about 100 corporations, with a majority interest in perhaps a dozen. It owns hotels, downtown office buildings, city real estate, ranch land, oil royalties, blue chip stocks, a lumber company, a newspaper and perhaps not even the specter of Jesse Jones knows what else. A 1956 article in the Houston Post devoted several columns to listing the Endowment's holdings but admitted that "there may be properties even in Houston that the reporter missed."

The Houston Chronicle is 100% owned by the Endowment and J. Howard Creekmore, Publisher, sits atop the mast as demonstration of at least one man who has kept up with the Joneses.

### The Magic Kingdom

But what is this Endowment which does not pay federal taxes but controls an empire, which disburses thousands of dollars to charity but accumulates in the best snowball (snow job?) fashion millions in assets?

Houston Endowment exists in that shadowy economic sphere known as The Magic Kingdom of Tax-Exempt

Foundations and Charitable Trusts. This kingdom was established by subscribers to the Order of the Great Capitalist Tax Dodge (among whom there were Fords and Mellons and Dukes and Rockefellers and Carnegies and innumerable other princely figures), and the guiding motto of this kingdom is: "Them that knows best how to get it, knows best how to give it."

Since 1961 Rep. Wright Patman, a crusty old East-Texas Populist, has been sweeping foundation dirt out from under fancy corporate rugs all over the country. And some of the conclusions reached by his House Subcommittee on Foundations bear reprinting here.

From Patman's opening statements prior to testimony before the Subcommittee, July 21, 1964:

"The continuing huge purchases of common stocks by foundations are signaling a change in the location of the economic power in this country. This is a force that can affect the course of our national economy. The power will, in reality, rest in the hands of a relatively small group -- the foundation managers."

"... substantial parts of the great fortunes of those who have profited from the enormous expansion of American industry have found their way into tax exempt foundations. These foundations have already passed and will continue to pass -- by right of inheritance -- to the control of heirs or their trustees."

"... More and more, the 'cream' is slipping out of our tax system as the great fortunes go into tax exempt foundations. Thus, the 'skim milk' incomes of average, hard-working families must shoulder an increasing part of the tax burden, both Federal and State."

Defenders of the tax-free foundation concept come on with all sorts of high-minded, socially-responsible type arguments. Playing upon the fears which grip Everyman as he sees the American Dream slipping into nightmarishness, the foundation proponents cite the relative ease with which the private sector may rush out applying bandages to broken social schemes, feeding and housing the indigent, uplifting down-sliding cultural programs, funding education for the uneducated, etc. etc. In short, the foundations are to do what the government cannot do (because of bureaucratic red tape or unenlightened priorities) or will not do (because of timidity before the electorate or unenlightened priorities).

It's an interesting argument, part of the way. The government, they say, is increasingly unable to meet the needs of the people. So far, so good.

Now we have Vietnam, spiraling inflation, middle class alienation, lower class rebelliousness, rising prime interest rates, commies on the campus and Spiro Agnew on the back steps of the White House -- and all the government knows to do is bring out more guns. So?

So now the Sons and Daughters of the American (Industrial) Revolution intend

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# Houston Chronicle: What Money Can Buy

In 1968 the Houston Chronicle earned \$150,000 in dividends for its owners, six trustees of a tax-exempt "charitable" foundation called the Houston Endowment. How did these people come to "own" the Chronicle? How important is a single newspaper to the Endowment's power in Houston?

In previous articles we have looked at the history and ownership of Houston's radio and television media. We believe that it is important to examine the organic role media plays in capitalism. The following history of Houston's largest newspaper reflects an initial understanding of its function in the Houston environment. We invite readers to respond to the article and to supply us with more information useful in understanding the role of media in Houston.

By C. Duncan

In 1901, Marcellus E. Foster, then editor of the Houston Post, and Charlie Myers, former Indianapolis Star circulation employee, had an idea for starting a third paper in Houston to compete with the Post and the Daily Herald. They and a group of friends raised \$25,000 capital and rented a three-story building two blocks from the present Chronicle Building.

The rent, \$250 a month, was paid by subletting two-thirds of the building. The entrepreneurs bought three typesetting machines and a printing press on credit and began operations.

The Houston Chronicle sold 2,000 issues its first day on the street, Oct. 14, 1901. The city's first 2¢ newspaper was peddled by boys who stood by barrels filled with pennies for change, since few of the 45,000 Houstonians carried pennies then.

By the end of the month, the Chronicle had a circulation of almost 4,400. After a year the paper was able to buy out its competitor on the afternoon market, the Daily Herald, for \$6,000, and rename itself the Houston Chronicle and Daily Herald. The latter eventually disappeared from the banner.

In 1904, the Chronicle began publishing a Sunday paper and in 1910 occupied its new 10-story building at Texas and Travis. The builder was a rising financier named Jesse Homan Jones, who liked the building so much he moved in as partner of the owner-editor, M.E. Foster.

In its early days, the paper was known as a "crusader," fighting private water service owners who wouldn't raise water pressure, trying to get saloons closed on Sundays during church service hours and battling to stop gambling on Main Street. The paper even fought the powerful Ku Klux Klan.

In 1926, Foster and Jones, who had by this time made a sizeable fortune in Houston real estate and a reputation in national Democratic Party politics, had a falling out, presumably a political dispute. Jesse found his venture in journalism profitable and perhaps he saw the importance of owning a newspaper to a successful business and political career. It is said that Jones proposed to name a fixed sum of money which Foster could either pay Jones for his half interest in the paper or could accept from Jones in return for giving up his interest. Foster couldn't

raise Jones' stiff price, so he sold his interest to Jones and retired. Later he became editor of the Scripps-Howard paper, the Houston Press. Jones became president, publisher, and sole owner of the Chronicle.

## Jones spreads out

During the Depression, Jones was one of the few big-moneyed magnates who could withstand the pressure of tight money and still continue investing. In other words, he had plenty of cash, and he quickly spread his control over the Houston media. In 1930, the newspaper company received the broadcasting license to Houston's second radio station, KTRH.

At the same time, the owners of the Houston Post were in financial difficulty. Generous Jesse bought and held the notes on the Post, exercising a real monopoly ownership over news in Houston, until 1939 when the Post's editor (and Jones' close friend), William P. Hobby, bought it back.

Before letting go of the Post, Jones established in 1937 the Houston Endowment, a tax-free foundation which enabled him to effectively retain control over the income from his valuable assets and at the same time deferred him from paying taxes on his profits. Jones' original gift to the foundation was some \$1,050,000, and the original trustees were either Jesse's relatives or close business associates, as they are today. It's called keeping-it-all-in-the-family.

Jones was clearly not feeling guilty about his monopolization of the media and the rest of Houston's economy. In 1953, the Chronicle bought one-third interest in KTRK-TV (Channel 13). Jones then owned the city's biggest newspaper, its most powerful radio station and held a controlling interest in its second TV station.

Jones named himself board chairman of the Chronicle Publishing Co. in 1950. His nephew, publisher John T. Jones Jr., became president. The nephew took over the paper and became president of the Houston Endowment in 1956, when Jesse Jones died.

In the 1950's the Chronicle was an unabashed mouthpiece for the city's aging oligarchy, dull, cliched and falling behind its competitor, the Post. A little-known incident occurring at the end of that decade reflects the tension between the paper's management and its employees resulting from the management's generally reactionary policies.

## Guild election

In 1959 a committee of employees formed to unionize the editorial staff and affiliate with the American Newspaper Guild. The Guild was founded in the 1930's. Most editorial staffs of big city dailies, except in the South, belong to the Guild. Employees of only two Texas papers, one in San Antonio and one in El Paso, are represented by the Guild.

Prior to the election, which was supervised by the National Labor Relations Board, numerous letters, pleas and threats were delivered to the employees by both the union organizers and the management. The close Oct. 15, 1959, election was initially won by the Guild 54-50, not including five ballots challenged by the union.

The NLRB allowed two of the challenges (one was a blank absentee ballot

and the other was the vote of Everett Collier, who had recently been appointed acting managing editor.) The other three ballots, votes of the Chronicle's Washington Bureau correspondents (whom the union claimed were not real Chronicle employees since the Bureau itself was on a contract), were against the union and were certified, resulting in a slim Guild victory 54-53.

The Chronicle board of directors was shocked, and steadfastly refused to recognize the union. The NLRB then appealed on behalf of the union to the Fifth Circuit District Court in New Orleans, which took its time in making a judgment. The court's verdict, issued two and a half years later, stated that the election was void as a result of a single factual error contained in a letter to the employees from a Guild organizer, in which he described some of the wage benefits contained in a Guild contract in San Antonio.

A reporter who worked for the Chronicle at that time told us that after two

years there had been a large shift in personnel and conditions were more tolerable on the editorial staff, so there was unfortunately no more talk of unionizing. Needless to say, there was no mention of the certification election in the pages of the Chronicle.

A Chronicle reporter for a few years in the early 1960's, Saul Friedman, commented on the reactionary policies of the 1950's. Under the editor, Emmett Walter, managing editor Roderick Watts and associate editor Everett Collier, Friedman said that "the Chronicle was slightly to the left of Rasputin -- and to the right of the Dallas Morning News." For example, the Chronicle was editorially critical of the United Nations and hostile to federal programs.

Brought in to rejuvenate the paper in 1960 was William P. Steven, an experienced editor who reversed the paper's dying tendencies and began to look at the Chronicle as though it were

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"I regard the publication of a newspaper as a distinct public trust, and one not to be treated lightly or abused for selfish purposes or to gratify selfish whims. A great daily newspaper can remain a power for good only so long as it is uninfluenced by unworthy motives, and unbought by the desire for gain."

"The Chronicle will always be . . . a newspaper for all the people, democratic in fact and principle, standing for the greatest good to the greatest number."

-- from a Chronicle editorial Jones wrote after buying the newspaper in 1926

## ENDOWMENT 95, CHARITY 18

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to step in and help straighten things out. Which is where the argument stops being interesting.

An examination of typical foundations' appropriations reveals that either "Them that knows best how to get it, don't know at all how best to give it," or else they do know and won't. Same difference. Moral: a tax-exempt butcher does not a veterinarian make.

Another question altogether is the "rightness" of the power they exercise. Even if some foundation made nothing but the highest and noblest appropriations, what "right" would it have to do so? That is, just because some guy has a bundle of money, where does he get off deciding that rather than pay taxes he'll spread the loot around his way and get a bunch of buildings named after himself in the process? (Of course, this does not suggest that tax monies are actually allocated democratically.)

But we're falling a good ways far from the truth if we accept the assumption that the foundations' raison d'être is really to hand out free money.

The trustees and directors of the Endowment, for instance are businessmen, not Boy Scouts. From 1961 to 1967 the Endowment doled out about \$17.9 million for grants, scholarships and other "good causes" (more on this later). But -- though doubtless they were working day and night at the business of giving -- somehow the trustees fell behind: Endowment assets for that same period (by Endowment records) rose from \$72.6 million to

\$167.2 million. Final score: Endowment \$95 million, Philanthropy \$18 million.

If, as a sort of comparison, we use another set of disbursement figures -- drawn from a current series in the Endowment's own Chronicle -- we find an amazing circumstance. Jacqueline Onassis is capable of consuming it faster than the six trustees of the Houston Endowment can shovel it out! (The Chronicle claims that Mrs. Onassis and her husband, Aristotle, spent between \$15 and \$20 million last year.)

Which seems to call for a closer look at those trustees.

All six of the current Endowment trustees are related to Jesse Jones by blood, marriage or former business association. They are J. Howard Creekmore, 64, president-treasurer, also vice president and director of Bankers Mortgage, director of Texas National Bank of Commerce (TNBC) and former director of C&I Life Insurance Co., first joined Jones in 1926 as a bookkeeper for Bankers Mortgage; J.H. Garrett, 70, vice president, also former senior vice president of TNBC, nephew and former employee of Jones; W.W. Moore, 84, vice president, also president of Bankers Mortgage, a rancher with land in Jackson and Batrop Counties, joined Jones about the same time as Creekmore;

Audrey J. Beck, granddaughter of Jesse's wife by her first marriage, received two-thirds of Mrs. Jones' estate upon her death, at one time owned sizeable acreage of valuable ship channel property under the Beck

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MARCELLUS E. FOSTER



We all know perfectly well that there are men close by who have succeeded in combining wealth and influence to produce for themselves positions of great power. Control.

And somehow we are aware that these are not the same kind of men as the professional politicians who collect their fortunes as booty. Nor do they resemble the loaded doctrinaires who spend their loot on radio programs and vitriolic newsletters.

The truly powerful rich man, the genuinely potent big shot, is someone like Jesse Holman Jones. The Jones after whom all those buildings and other artifacts are named. He has been dead since June 1, 1956, but the power he amassed and the effects of his acts are still indisputably with us. The system of monopoly capitalism which exists in the United States today may rightfully count Jesse Jones as one of its foremost benefactors -- though Jones would no doubt have preferred remembrance as the man who saved America from socialism.

Jones liked to have his picture taken and he is interesting to look at. In the 1890's when he was young, we see him posed in fancy gear, holding a cane. As he aged, he apparently felt less need for props, letting himself be the whole show. His face did not change much from youth to old age. His hair turned powder white, like in the movies, and his face sagged a little, but it is the same man.

The face is mild, almost handsome in its vacancy. The eyes are the only part of the face that betrays intelligence. Photographs often discover the mouth in the moment of saying something persuasive, the speaker leaning toward his listener much in the style of Lyndon Johnson. With age, the body changed in bulk but not in character. Jones was quite tall. The whiteness of his hands and the majestic slope of his belly -- at all ages he looked like a thin man with a pillow in his shirt -- make him look soft, but strong in the arms, like a second-string high school tackle.

Jesse Jones was born April 5, 1874, in Robertson County, Tennessee, a son of a well-heeled tobacco farmer. The family moved to Dallas when Jesse was nearly grown, and he went to work for an uncle, M.T. Jones, who had a lumber yard in Terrell. Jesse was only an "okay" student in school, but well-liked, and was inclined to save his money.

He worked for this uncle off and on and was usually out of favor because of his wheeler-dealing. He was fired under accusations that he had used company money to finance poker games. Eventually, however, he was vindicated and became manager of his uncle's holdings.

In 1898, at 24, he moved to Houston. Having multiplied his uncle's fortune several times, he was anxious to try his methods with his own money. The way he accomplished this (he did, of course) was the purchase and sale of property in much the same style that one's daddy is likely to encourage today. Pretty soon he was erecting office buildings, mortgaging them, and using the money to put up more buildings.

During these years he was a popular fellow, sleek and self-assured. His favorite carriage horse he called Money Bags. In the fall of 1902 he was elected King Nottoc of the Not-Su-Oh Carnival (read backwards) presumably a wonderful thing to happen to a young man in 1902.

(There seems to have been some kind of penchant for "backwards" festivals in those days, with many neighboring towns joining Houston in the fun. The Negro residents of Houston, wishing their own portion of separate-but-equal amusement, also organized a carnival, honoring one of their number by crowning him King Ecivres-Layol (!))

## Easy Credit

In 1903 Jones launched a project that foreshadowed his development of the FHA financing system. He built the Edgewood Addition around Hamilton and McGowen Streets, houses offered for \$3,000 to \$5,000, with a small down payment and easy installments on the balance. This was possibly the first such project and was a smashing success. There is no calculating the eventual effects of this scheme on American consumer finance.

Jones' contemporaries were appalled

by his dependence on "soft" credit. He was, in essence, a pioneer of both modern consumer credit and credit confidence schemes such as those attempted by Eddie Gilbert and Billy Sol Estes. It was expected that he would flop. When he survived the Panic of 1907 with only one note called due, he had not only secured his fortune, he had become a strong man in the financial affairs of the city.

A Jones principle was that solvency is 9/10 the confidence of others. His practice of this principle is illustrated by a Depression episode. In 1931, two banks, Houston National and the Public National Bank and Trust, were rumored on the brink of closing. Jones heard about it and called a meeting of Houston biggies. He convinced these men that they must maintain the solvency of the banks by spreading the financial burden among themselves. With a substantial loan from the group, Houston National stayed open and Public National was consolidated with Jones' National Bank of Commerce. Houston had no more bank troubles during the Depression.

Although he was soft spoken, Jones' greatest influence was in personal persuasion. Businessmen respected the mind that built such a vast and stable empire so quickly. It is an interesting irony that Jones was a lousy salesman. As a young man, he engaged in a brief failure as a cigar salesman. After smoking up all his samples, he quit. There is an entire folklore of Jesse Jones stories, most of which tell how he called a bunch of rich guys to his office, told them what they ought to do, then sent them off to do it. The snag at the end of these stories is always similar to the above, in which everything is made straight and good.

His fortune was always in property. He designed his own buildings, believing that he could "design them better for practicability and revenue than the architects." From the time he began building, he averaged one new structure completed every year until his death. He put up six buildings in New York, but most of his activities were in Texas. In 1940, Fortune Magazine stated that Jones owned 65 lumber yards; two sawmills; was chairman of the National Bank of Commerce; owned the Houston Chronicle outright and controlled the finances of the Post; owned 40 buildings in Houston and half the office space in Fort Worth; owned two Houston radio stations and perhaps a third. His only contact with the oil business was in helping found Humble Oil, and he sold his stock in that company almost immediately.

In liquid assets, Jones -- though tremendously wealthy -- was never the richest man in town. The omnipresence of his name and effigy in Houston are mostly the result of his unique combination of wealth and clout in Houston affairs. His most enduring monuments, however, were built on the

banks of the Potomac.

When Jones entered government service, most Houstonians were only aware that a hometown boy was real important and the President knew him and everything and they gave him some kind of job up in our nation's capital. That isn't exactly how it went, though.

Jesse Jones in Washington

Jones' first involvement in national affairs as anything more than a heavy contributor to the Democratic Party treasury was his acceptance of a position with the Red Cross. The Red Cross of World War I was not the same organization that we know today. It was a civilian adjunct of the United States war effort. Through private contributions, such amenities as field hospitals, ambulances, and bandages were provided to American soldiers.

The Red Cross was very much the product of a few rich businessmen. Henry P. Davison Sr., a member of J.P. Morgan & Co., was chairman of the American Red Cross War Council. He farmed out the task of fund-raising

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# Jesse Jones: A Brief Biography

By Susanne Allstrom & Eric Allstrom

**THE WALL 9801 AIRLINE DR.**

September 26 The Shayds

September 27 Manlove

**North Side's Favorite Teen Place.  
Adults Welcome Free Anytime.**



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being published for the whole community. In addition to this heresy, he was pretty "radical" for Houston: he supported higher education, Lyndon Johnson and civil rights.

Steven recalled to an Atlantic Monthly writer his first meeting with publisher John Jones, during which Steven expressed his strong feelings about integration. As Steven remembered it, Jones replied, "The Chronicle supports the law of the land. The only trouble I'll have with you is that you may want to talk about it too much."

Steven at once began building the local news staff, which was suffering from inbreeding, age and low salaries. Top reporters at the Chronicle in 1960 were getting \$120 a week, and Steven raised their salaries substantially. The Chronicle withdrew its support from the conservatives on the school board, pressed for televising of school board proceedings against the bitter opposition of conservatives and won.

In 1964 the Chronicle's afternoon competition, the Scripps-Howard Houston Press, finally gave up and sold its assets to the Chronicle, which then became the largest paper in Texas, with 254,000 circulation.

## News Suppressed

But the paper was still being published in a city whose ruling conservatives and reactionaries were accustomed to a Chronicle they could count on. The community on the right did not like what was happening, and there was plenty of cocktail party grumbling.

"I've heard the Chronicle cussed out at public meetings, at John Birch meetings," Friedman told the Texas Observer. "Yet I somehow think that this pressure did not have any real reaction on John Jones. I think it had its reaction on the people who ran Houston Endowment, and this is where the real pressure began to come from -- Houston Endowment."

Friedman said that Howard Creekmore, president of the Endowment, asked Steven not to run an editorial about taxes, and Steven turned him down.

Whatever the precise reason that precipitated the Endowment's anger, it was on Sept. 2, 1965, during the Watts black rebellion in Los Angeles, that Steven was notified of his dismissal.

First the foundation trustees dissolved the board of the Chronicle, which had included Steven, replacing him with their new editor, Collier, who had been a columnist during the paper's reactionary period in the 1950's. Then they loaded the paper's board with members of the foundation board -- Creekmore, Garrett, Moore and John Beck.

J. Hurt Garrett, Endowment trustee and former vice president of The Texas National Bank of Commerce, said of the shake-up: "We didn't like their editorial policy, that's all. I never heard



John T. Jones, Jr.

anything but complaints about it... It was all this racial desegregation business. Things were all right in Houston before they came down. But all this racial business -- nobody liked it."

In line with "this racial business," Chronicle reporter Friedman had spent three months researching a series of articles on the Houston black community that documented, among other things, the activities of local slum lords and housing authorities. The Chronicle refused to print the series. Shortly after Steven's dismissal, Friedman left the paper for more liberal Northern climates.

On Sept. 3 the Chronicle ran a large front-page story on the new appoint-

# steven purged for "progress"

ments but omitted any mention of Steven, and of the Endowment, which had made the changes. Over at the Post, a story about the firing was prepared, but then killed by the top brass.

When the Endowment fired Steven, it had already accepted John T. Jones' resignation from the board. Jones had stepped down a month earlier to avoid a charge of self-dealing when he bought from the Endowment the Chronicle's radio and TV stations.

There followed a watchful period, during which Collier treaded very conservatively, and the staff watched the sky for bolts from the Enigmatic Endowment. None came.

Instead came Mecom.

Oilman John Mecom is a Houstonian whose assets in 1966 were said to be between \$400 and \$500 million (perhaps on a par with Endowment's holdings). He also owns many businesses -- oil-field equipment manufacturers, a plastics company, two fish-meal plants in Latin America, a natural gas pipeline, a chemical company and a hotel chain. In addition, he owns airplanes, three cattle ranches, race horses and a private zoo.

Mecom was the buyer in the abortive "sale" in early 1966 of the Chronicle and other Endowment properties, for a reported \$85 million. Had he really bought the properties, Mecom now would own about 10 square blocks of downtown Houston. The package included the paper, the Rice Hotel, the Rice Hotel Garage and Laundry and the Endowment's controlling stock in Texas National Bank of Commerce, the city's second largest bank. The bank stock was estimated to have been worth between \$40 and \$50 million.

Mecom was elected board chairman and chief executive officer of the bank where he already was a director. He announced that he was retaining the paper's editorial hierarchy and that its policies would not change. Mecom was a Democrat at the time, an ardent supporter of Johnson and Humphrey.

It appeared to all as a real sale, and that's the way the Endowment had announced it in a front page story. But six months after the announcement Mecom's name simply disappeared from the masthead on the editorial page and now-deceased Jesse Jones' name reappeared.

Reporters read about the non-sale in such papers as the New York Times and Washington Post. Indeed, some Chronicle reporters wrote the stories that appeared elsewhere. But again, no coverage appeared in the pages of the Chronicle. If Houstonians depended on their biggest paper, they would not know that the community had undergone a profound change, that "their" leading newspaper, the most prominent Texas representative of that crucial institution of free and independent press, was being bought and sold like an anonymous link in a string of corporate hot dogs.

The most credible explanation for the non-sale was that the Endowment's financial spies learned Mecom was up to his ears in debt, having over-extended his credit, and put it to him in plain words: cash now or no sale. Mecom, of course, could not come up with the cash, even whatever portion the seller was demanding on the spot.

The reason for the sale remains a matter of pure speculation among Houston corporate circles. Why would the Endowment have wanted to dispose of such valuable property in the first place?

The possibility of a conflict of interest was as inherent under Mecom's ownership of the Chronicle as it was under its previous owners. But the Endowment had been pursued by the Treasury Department and by Congressman Wright Patman. Patman was digging deeper into the Endowment in 1965, compiling an impressive record of the Endowment's large-scale corporate dealings and its modest indulgence in charity. The foundation was feeling considerable pressure to divest itself of some of its commercial interests, particularly the newspaper, its most obvious political tool. But why did

they pick Mecom?

Collier's explanation is: "The trustees of the Houston Endowment were determined to keep these properties in the hands of someone who has the same deep love of this community and the same concepts for its betterment and progress that Jesse Jones had." The trustees no doubt felt they were expressing "the same concepts for its betterment and progress" when they fired Steven for being too liberal and too pro-Negro.

## The Family Newspaper

There is special irony in the episodes concerning Steven and Mecom which is explained in a 1966 Atlantic Monthly article called "Houston's Shackled Press": "Reformers of newspapers have long dreamed of ownership by a foundation that would be immune to commercial attitudes and pressures. But as it happens in Houston, foundation ownership produces a list of almost every pitfall in business domination.

"For example, the Chronicle represents only one twentieth of the Endowment's total assets. Even if the newspaper never showed a profit, this would be tolerable to the total economy of the foundation. It serves the trustees instead to have the paper protect the property and politics of its owners and do it more effectively by overwhelming its competing papers, which it does by consistently cutting its advertising rates secretly for big advertisers, keeping its monthly subscription rate abnormally low, running exorbitant editions to help put one competitor out of business and dominate another."

It is reflective of the Endowment's

firm belief in freedom of the press that, shortly after the Atlantic issue containing the story critical of the foundation hit the stands in Houston, they arranged to have all copies bought up and destroyed.

The Atlantic may be misleading in suggesting that there exists strong competition between the evening Chronicle and its counterpart, the morning Post. Surely heated competition exists for the advertising and circulation markets, but there is ample evidence that the two papers are in close cooperation when it comes to deciding which news to cover and how "objectively" it is reported.

We have mentioned major incidents of interest to the community which, to preserve the secrecy in the corporate chambers, the Chronicle owners did not deem newsworthy. There was also a bitter stockholder struggle in 1965 within the Texas National Bank of Commerce (then owned by the Endowment) which received brief coverage in the Post and, of course, no mention in the Chronicle. Earlier, during the period of 1959-60 when downtown department stores and lunch counters were desegregating for the first time, both papers agreed that to avoid a possible white "backlash" they would ignore the issue completely.

And it is well known that both papers operate closely with the mayor's office to determine news coverage in times of possible racial unrest. For example, when Stokely Carmichael spoke at a rally in Houston in 1967, the Post wrote three paragraphs on him, and the Chronicle carried only a picture buried in the paper's third section.

As for the Chronicle's current editorial policy, the paper is above all else still owned by the Endowment. Although we occasionally get a glimpse of Establishment Liberalism on its editorial page, such as tepid support of the housing code and increased welfare spending, when the issue hits the rich man's pocketbook (the oil depletion allowance controversy) the paper shows its true colors.

The cooperation between the Post and Chronicle is not surprising. Both newspapers represent the interests of two families within Houston's ruling class, a small, elite group of corporate businessmen who constitute a kind of "family" themselves. The Chronicle is indeed the "family newspaper."

THE FAMILY NEWSPAPER

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# Teatro Campesino



Teatro de las Colonias, a troupe of migrant farm workers from Hidalgo County, recently presented a program of skits, music and dances at Houston's Casa de Amigos Community Center. The program was intended to expose conditions in the Valley and also to raise money for a chain of food co-ops.

Five skits were presented. All of them were improvisations around basic situations of Chicano life. A boss hires a Chicano citizen for \$1.00 an hour ("\$1.30 an hour? What are you -- some sort of red agitator?") A green-carder (Mexican resident with special permission to work in this country) replaces him at 70¢. Finally the boss hires a wetback for 30¢. The workers get together and the boss drives them away, hiring piecework (workers paid by amount picked instead of hourly wage). One final comment: "And some people say we don't need a union."

The employment skit is the shortest, and in some ways the simplest, of the teatro's presentations. And it is the base for the next four. (The exploiting boss later appears as the racist school-teacher and as the Chamber of Commerce president). The enemy is clearly indicated in this first skit. It is not the wetback, but the "patron" who uses him. The characters are not intended to represent persons, but "the people" in different situations. They wear signs -- "cuidadano," "patron," "wetback." The message of the skit is clear, conveyed in mime, slapstick and wisecracks.

In another skit the people of La Raza are shown fighting for basic services in the commissioner's court -- "Sewers you want? But cockroaches have to live too!" -- and being thrown into jail for their trouble. They are denied their demands, but the Chamber of Commerce president is immediately granted money for a fancy fountain. "I just happen to own a construction company that can do the work," says the judge.

"We try to present a problem and at the same time to present a solution,"

says the Teatro. And so, at election time, the corrupt judge is run out of the barrio (Mexican-American community).

The fourth skit, entitled "La Escuela," was aimed at the schools which systematically degrade the history, language and culture of the Chicanos. Kindergarten kids get brand new Anglo names on the first day of school. (Domingo Nieve becomes Ice Cream Sundae.) Kids are beaten for speaking Spanish. Only Billy, the doctors' son, thrives as the teacher's pet.

By senior year, the students are ready to fight the teacher's racist version of Texas history. "Some of the great heroes of Texas history were Stephen F. Austin, Jim Bowie, William Barret Travis and John Wayne." One student is expelled, the rest walk out, led by MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization). The walkout is busted and the parents join in the fight.

The "Escuela" skit managed to convey an enormous amount of information in a strong dramatic situation. Students counter the teacher's lies with the true story of Texas. The teacher asks, "What is this MAYO that's stirring everyone up?" and the students reply pointedly and angrily. The rulers' racist objections are ridiculed. The history text book, proclaims the teacher, was written by God.

The final skit, "Tex-Mex Curios," involves a congressman's daughter trying to buy a token Mexican to bring out the vote for her father's election. The shopkeeper shows several models, but none is really right. The 1930 model "campesino" (farm worker) is cheap -- "runs on beans and tortillas," but a bit smelly. The 1953 "pachuco" (hood) won't do -- he fights and smokes marijuana. And the 1968 MAYO says dangerous things like "Viva la Revolution" and "Muerte a los Gringos."

The congressman needs someone who will get Chicano votes without alienating the Anglos. So the shopkeeper brings his Very Valuable 1969 Model Mex-Tex from the vault. This model, clean shaven and suited has been to college, speaks English and is much

in demand by OEO. When prodded, he does indeed speak English. Things like, "What the Latin American (!) people need is education, education and more education."

The girl is charmed, and orders the shopkeeper to round up five more like him (the University of Houston is suggested as a good recruiting ground).

The Teatro is new to Texas, but the concept of a farm-workers theatre dates back to the early days of the Delano, Calif., grape strike. During the march to Sacramento, strikers presented short skits each morning, explaining the strike and interpreting the day's events. The "teatro campesino" grew and is still functioning.

The Texas version -- Teatro de las Colonias -- is young. (Colonias are small Valley towns where migratory workers have winter quarters.) It has been functioning since last April, and has been growing steadily.

They present their plays at meetings, in backyards, in living rooms, wherever there are people to listen. In four months they have developed some 25 skits, often performing three or four nights a week. They have involved nearly 30 people in production, acting and singing.

The bulk of the troupe is, and always has been, drawn from migrant workers. Of the 11 people who came to Houston, seven are farm workers. All have been farm workers at one time or another.

One of the leading forces in the Teatro has been MAYO. Andres Navarez, a member of the troupe and a MAYO activist, talked about the usefulness of the Teatro as an organizing tool. The performers are not interested in becoming professional actors; they merely see the Teatro as an effective vehicle for communicating political ideas.

MAYO, Navarez said, is disgusted with the efforts of OEO officials and other liberal wreckers to co-opt the struggle of the farm workers into "constructive" (read, harmless to the rulers) outlets such as "self-help housing."

"This does nothing to attack the true problems of the people," he said.

"We are attacking the cycle that established people have created and now maintain through a repulsive system. I mean throwing people into a cheap labor pool and maintaining a dog-eat-dog world."

MAYO is working for "complete change," and sees a major enemy in the educational system.

In Texas as a whole, 80% of all Chicanos never finish high school. This, of course, is no accident. The schools are among the worst imaginable, degrading the Mexican-American heritage and failing to prepare the Chicanos for anything but the lowest-paying jobs. A few Chicanos, like "Mex-Tex 69," escape into the petit bourgeoisie, but the overwhelming majority are forced into the most exploited sectors of the working class.

Thus, "racial discrimination" is no abstract evil to be combatted moralistically. It is the harsh reality that produces super-profits for big-time ranchers and continued misery for the workers caught in the jaws of the profit-seeking monsters.

And it is precisely to these people, the workers and young people of Hidalgo County, that the Teatro de las Colonias speaks directly and most effectively. "We don't care if the skits come out good or bad; we are just bringing you a message," said the Teatro's narrator. And while the message is clear, the skits are most certainly good. They are concrete and direct, and fun to watch.

The Teatro de las Colonias brought two messages to Houston. First, it told about conditions in the Valley and how people can unite to fight them. Second, and perhaps unintentionally, the colonias group showed us how a theater that is openly didactic can help people in their fight. The theater comes to the people and meets them on home ground. It speaks their language. It shows them themselves.



# Chicano Students' Walkout

By Richard Atwater

A general walkout staged by Mexican-American students struck the Houston area high schools Tuesday, Sept. 16. Some of the schools involved were Jeff Davis, San Jacinto and Washington High Schools, and Marshall Junior High. The walkout, planned and executed by ARMAS, an organization of students at Jefferson Davis, was in celebration of the anniversary of Mexico's independence from Spain, and also to gain support for ARMAS' demands for improvement in the conditions at schools. The students are demanding fair treatment for Mexican-Americans, a rather radical demand in the opinion of high school administrators.

The walkout was well planned, with many leaflets floating around and articles appearing in a newspaper published by ARMAS. The leaflets were passed out to gain student support and also to announce the demands made by ARMAS (see box on this page). The principals were generally uptight and threatened all students participating in the walkout with expulsion. The faculty also threatened to use physical force to keep the students in class, and viewed the students' demands unworthy of consideration.

As soon as the first bells rang for class, the students started walking quietly out of the schools, but the administrations were determined not to give up without a fight. At San Jacinto, uniformed and plain-clothes cops were everywhere, shouting insults at the students and spoiling for a fight. There were some teachers who grabbed students and shoved them back into class, and others were trying to intimidate the students by taking down names of those who were walking out.

Other schools were locked up com-

pletely, mainly Reagan High and Marshall Junior High, and nobody was even allowed to go outside. The students who did escape, however, marched around the high schools encouraging those in sympathy to join them. But most students were intimidated by the faculty's threats, although many expressed verbal support for the walkout.

Support also came from several parents, who observed the walkout from the streets nearby. The students from the different schools met for a rally in Moody Park, where they were able to rap with one another and plan for the

## Armas Demands

1. Initiation of courses on chicano history and culture, taught by chicanos, into the regular school curriculum.
2. Stopping the practice of "push-outs" -- that is, when counselors whose main concern is to keep order in the school advise students who are disciplinary problems to drop out of school.
3. Hiring of more chicano counselors, who understand the special problems of chicanos in high schools, who understand why only 2% of the students at the University of Houston are chicanos while they comprise over 14% of the city's population.
4. Elimination of the "pregnancy list" at Davis High School, a publicly posted list of all girls who have left school because of pregnancy -- a vicious form of personal degradation.
5. Lengthening the 20-minute lunch break allowed at Marshall. All other schools get at least 30 minutes.



Walking out at Jeff Davis

future.

The future looks active indeed. It appears that the faculty needs further convincing that the students really mean to back up their demands with action. The primary purpose of the walkout was to gain support from as many students as possible, however, and in this respect it was a success. More than 500 students walked out in all and many others showed their support by staying home that day. ARMAS is planning to meet soon to set a deadline on faculty recognition of their demands, and other action is planned if the schools choose to ignore the demands, as they are now doing.

The aftermath looks fairly peaceful, with several exceptions. The principal at San Jacinto freaked out the day following the walkout, and expelled some of the leaders, and suspended others. By the end of the week, however, all students were back in class. The administration is apparently trying to pretend it was all a bad dream, and they are hoping that everyone will forget all about the demands, the walkout and justice for the Mexican-American students who still have to suffer in the jails that are laughingly called schools. But the students haven't forgotten, and they have learned from this encounter that if they act together, they can force the administration to acknowledge their demands and respect their Mexican-American heritage.

The local news media chose to give inadequate coverage of ARMAS' activities, printing distorted versions of the walkout, and omitting most of the facts. For instance, the Chronicle reported that only 32 students walked out at Jeff Davis, while an eye witness told

us he counted at least 130.

Space City News is anxious for news of any further activity. Any high school students wishing to show support for the students' struggle can contact us, and we'll try to put you in touch with other students who are fighting repression and racism in the schools.

## Danny Schacht Jailed

by Tracey Oates

Danny Schacht, a Houston radical activist, has been sent to Seagoville, Texas, federal penitentiary, where he is serving a six-month sentence.

Schacht was charged with wearing parts of a U.S. Army uniform during a skit outside the Houston Induction Center. He was tried and convicted Feb. 15, 1968. His appeal to the New Orleans district court was turned down May 14 of this year.

The skit, sponsored by SDS, was part of national Stop the Draft Week activities in early December, 1967. It was produced by the Bong-the-Cong Repertory Theater. The military uniforms, worn by Schacht and another activist, Jarrett Smith, were a mixture of current and surplus military and civilian garments.

(Smith was given a suspended sentence and fine on the condition he would not participate in activities of SDS or the UH Humanist Club.)

The defense during the trial pointed out that military uniforms are often and legally worn in theatrical productions.

The prosecution refused to accept the Bong-the-Cong theater as real theater. Said Assistant U.S. Attorney Fred L. Hartman, "They (Schacht and Smith) did it to discredit the Army, this country and the people in it. That's why I say, 'If you don't like it, get out'."

The defense claimed, however, that Schacht and Smith were being prosecuted "because they dared to speak out against the war in Vietnam."

After Schacht's appeal to the district court was turned down, there were plans made to bring the case before the U.S. Supreme Court. Schacht's lawyer, however, neglected to file for an appeal within the 30-day limit, reportedly because his fees hadn't been paid. Schacht had known nothing about the expiration date until it was too late.

On Aug. 29, he received notice to report to the Harris County Rehabilitation Center to start serving his sentence. His father, Ezra Schacht, stated that the issue of the right to dissent is crucial, and therefore, despite the tremendous cost of some \$6,000, Schacht and his new attorney, David Burg, have decided to continue the case.

Earlier this week the case was presented to the U.S. Supreme Court for consideration. Money for the defense is scarce. Any contributions should be sent to the Danny Schacht Defense Fund, American Civil Liberties Union, 1819 Dunstan. Personal letters can be sent to Danny in care of Seagoville Federal Penitentiary, Seagoville, Texas.



Photos by Raul Gutierrez



# STRIKERS SHUT DOWN NABISCO

By S.S. Bishop

In a vacant lot behind the National Biscuit Company's huge automated bakery at 6803 Alameda stands a small trailer and a tent. In the trailer, on a wall facing the 10 foot high fence, which surrounds the empty food factory, is a scribbled sign, "Only the Strong Survive!"

This is in the heart of every woman and man employed by the company, which has a virtual monopoly on the cookie, cracker, and confectionary business in the United States. Two weeks ago 550 members of Local 163 of the American Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union walked off the job along with 8,500 others across the country. Nabisco's entire production capacity has been shut down.

In effect, they're quoting Leadbelly's famous line, "If you're gonna eat your cookies in bed, baby, you'll have to sleep with the crumbs."

The crumbs at Nabisco are obvious at the first look. The company makes \$180 million per year profit by smooth tactics which have qualified it for mention as one of the top 20 best managed companies in the nation.

The top pay of male hourly employees is about the same as the starting salary for 18 or 20 year olds who go to work in the many refineries and other organized plants in the Houston area. However, most of their employees (63%) are women, who are paid substantially less than the men.

Although the New York based corporation, which reportedly earns five% profit annually for its stockholders, has greatly raised its prices to the Oreo eating public in recent years, it has, so far, refused a cost of living clause for its workers. (This would automatically raise wages as the cost of living goes up, 6.4% last year in

Texas.)

Nabisco has offered no increase at all in the union pension plan, although company men (non-union supervisors) recently got one. It has refused to consider paying Houston bakers the same wages as it pays their 8,500 fellow bakers in other parts of the country.

Nabisco has been rabidly automating. Workers who die, retire or are fired are replaced by machines instead of by other workers. Two years ago there were 10,000 bakers employed by Nabisco. Today there are only 9,000. The board of directors backs up its meager pay offers with the silent message that they can always buy more automatic machinery.

Reliable sources have informed Space City News that the company is very polite and friendly toward its hourly employees.

That cute smile, though, ain't gonna cut it. Nabisco is stuck in bed with its crumbs and a nationwide strike of its workers. The workers walked out

of the plants two weeks ago and they're ready for a two year strike if that's what it takes. They are demanding equal pay for women employees. They're demanding decent pay increases for workers and pensioners. They're demanding a health and welfare plan which will adequately support injured or sick workers. They are not going to bake one more graham cracker until they get what they want.

Not one union member has disagreed with the strike. They recently amended union rules which gave union officers the ability to accept new contracts. This year's contract will have to be ratified by all members involved. But there are no squabbles among the membership. They all know what they want, and, of course, they are more militant than the officers have been in past years.

The strike is also being supported faithfully by plant workers other than bakers. The Teamsters, Electrical Workers, Machinist-Millwrights and Railway Workers are all honoring the

picket lines.

There is one other element of support which our brothers and sisters on the picket lines need -- community support. Go ahead and buy any Premium Saltines or other Nabisco products that might still be on the grocery shelves. When Nabisco's products are gone, other companies will take its valuable place on the shelves.

We can also go visit the strikers on the picket lines. Pick up a box of home-made cookies, a can of coffee or some sandwiches and head for the lines at 6803 Alameda now. You can rap for a few minutes, or better yet, sign up for a four hour shift of picket duty, (30 minutes walking, 30 minutes resting). The strikers have to walk two of these shifts a week. If we can take a worker's place, he or she can go home for rest or to spend the day earning money to feed the family. The most important part of this picket pooling is the improved understanding that results. We've got to get together, talk together, fight together!



Women make up more than 60% of striking workers at Nabisco.

## San Antonio Bus Strike Settled ... For Now

By M.B. Rogers

San Antonio's bus drivers and mechanics are back on the job after a 14-day illegal strike. But the basic wage issues were not resolved, and another work stoppage may soon result.

At issue is the fact that the union -- Amalgamated Transit Union Local 694 -- agreed to return to the job thinking that all workers would get an immediate 4-3/4 cent an hour increase. But the municipally-owned transit authority now says only top paid workers are entitled to this, with other lower-paid workers getting a percentage raise instead.

This misunderstanding is typical of the developments during the first San Antonio bus strike in 20 years. Union leaders repeatedly accepted transit company offers, only to have rank-and-file members reject them. Transit company officials tried to get a permanent court injunction against the drivers on the basis that they were San Antonio city employees (a strike by state or municipal employees is illegal in Texas, since labor unions are not recognized officially as bargaining agents under the law). Yet transit officials would not grant their employees wages and benefits comparable to those of other city employees. A district judge postponed rendering his decision on the injunction, and the issues raised in the strike were never clarified legally.

Complicating all of this was a split within the union between older members who had retirement benefits at stake, and

a younger, more militant element, composed mostly of Mexican-Americans, who wanted to fight for a fair settlement now.

Since the union bus drivers were prohibited by a temporary injunction from aiding and abetting the work stoppage by picketing or propagandizing, a group of 100 wives of the strikers set up a committee to inform the public of their demands. They distributed 10,000 leaflets in downtown San Antonio, calling attention to the bad working conditions their husbands endured as transit employees.

These were some of the complaints: a 14-hour split shift, which requires a driver to be on call between 5 a.m. and 8 p.m.; a two-day loss of pay each time drivers are off the job because of illness; an inadequate uniform allowance; and a top pay scale of only \$2.78 an hour, which is lower than drivers in Dallas and Houston make.

The striking drivers and mechanics wanted a \$3.00 hourly wage, a reduction in split shift hours spread and fringe benefits equal to those of other city employees.

When they went back to work, they believed they had a settlement guaranteeing an immediate 4-3/4 cent hourly raise, and a hike to \$3.00 an hour by January, 1971, plus a reduction from 14 to 12 hours on the split shifts.

It will probably take a bitter fight within the union and another work stoppage to clear up this very basic misunderstanding among management, union officers and the rank and file.





# Why

# Abortion Laws?

(Second of a Series)

By Victoria Smith and Judy Fitzgerald

Abortion is one of the most ancient forms of birth control, dating back thousands of years. Social attitudes and laws governing abortion through the ages have often been less strict than they are in the United States today.

Before the rise of Christianity and Judaism, abortion was commonplace and not illegal. The Hippocratic Oath decrees that a physician will not "give an abortive remedy to a woman." But at this time no male physician would deign to touch a woman patient, so a woman's maternity needs were filled by midwives, who never took the Oath of Hippocrates.

Hippocrates himself, however, recommended violent exercise to induce abortion. Aristotle and Plato both advocated abortion to limit population growth and to maintain an economically healthy society.

As far back as 4,600 years ago the Emperor Shen Nung is said to have written a medical text that includes an abortion remedy through the use of mercury.

With the introduction of Christianity and Judaism, however, abortion came under general moral condemnation.

The Feudal period of Western civilization, the forerunner of capitalism, was being born. The church and state recognized an increasing need to bring their subjects under tighter control, including control of sexual and moral behavior.

Yet for centuries the official church-state position on abortion was less strict than it is today.

Up until the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church, the dominant religion of the Christian era, decreed that abortion was permissible up to 40 days past conception for a male fetus, and up to 80 days for a female fetus. How the church determined the sex of the fetus before birth remains a mystery. What is more significant is that the church put a higher priority on bringing the male fetus to maturity than the female. (No institution of religion has ever been known for its respect and concern for women. All churches have been and remain male-dominated.)

Throughout Christian history, different Popes enforced different positions on abortion. But the 48 day rule remained largely unchanged until the 19th Century.

In 1869, Pope Pius IX passed an edict declaring that all abortion past the moment of conception is no less than murder. This new law reversed the Roman Catholic position on abortion that had existed since the beginning of Christendom.

Pat Maginnis and Lena Clarke Phelan in The Abortion Handbook trace this development to the Napoleonic wars in 19th Century France.

"Under the 'Code Napoleon,' the status of women sank to an all-time low," they write. "All social, medical or human gains gathered for women over centuries were wiped out in the urgent need of the crown for soldiers and breeders. French women were given in marriage at the earliest possible age. It was stipulated that to be 'submissive and obedient' they were to be educated only by their hus-

bands that 'they might be taught awe and respect for their masters.' French husbands were instructed to keep their wives busy, isolated and away from 'other women with tattling tongues to tell them things to distress their simple minds.' Above all, women were never to hear of Malthus and his heretical teachings concerning overpopulation. Such young women were to be kept pregnant and at home for their own 'fulfillment' as women. Attending church was their sole social function."

The Code Napoleon was especially hard on peasant women and their husbands. They were forced not only to breed beyond their economic means, but to send their sons off to fight for a state which served them in no way.

By the 1850's, however, science was able to witness the actual penetration of the female ovum by the male sperm through improved microscopic techniques. Birth control methods were developed to trap the sperm, and these methods were enthusiastically welcomed by the French people.

This new "indulgence" angered Napoleon III and Pius IX, since it threatened the glory of France. Hence, the startling new edict, which not only outlawed abortion, but prohibited the use of contraception. The new laws, of course, did little to lower the abortion rate. They only increased female deaths, degradation, guilt and the general level of human misery.

Many of the non-Catholic countries also clamped down on abortion during the 19th Century. In 1803, England passed a law declaring abortion a crime comparable to murder. Any abortionist was to be dealt with as such.

Protestantism in America proved as effective an obstacle for humane sex laws as Catholicism in France and Italy. Anthony Comstock, "father of the U.S. Blue Laws," paved the way for repressive, puritanical laws governing "chastity and morality." The first piece of Comstock legislation, called "An Act For Suppression of Trade in and Circulation of Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use," was enacted into federal law in 1873 under the Ulysses S. Grant administration. (Maginnis and Phelan note that the President owed Comstock a personal favor.)

Over the next 80 years, every American state passed similar legislation forbidding contraception and abortion except to save the life of the pregnant woman. Most of these laws were conveniently passed before women had the vote. The laws governing abortion still exist in all but nine of the 50 states. Massachusetts and Connecticut still forbid the knowledge and use of contraception, let alone the practice of abortion.

## The Law Vs Liberation

Most of the countries in which Catholicism and Protestantism played a major historical role retain the restrictive laws governing abortion initiated in the 19th Century. (England, which legaliz-

ed abortion in 1968, is the exception.)

What are some of the arguments that help block legislation to change these laws?

Best known is the religious argument that all abortion is murder. It is generally attributed to the Roman Catholic position.

This reasoning appeared in refined form for the first time in 1869, under Pope Pius IX. The church then introduced the idea of "ensoulment" or "beginning of life" of the fetus, which was said to occur at the moment of conception. Before that, the beginning of life was generally thought to occur when the mother first felt the fetus stirring within her, about five months after conception.

If you accept the idea that life begins when the sperm fertilizes the egg, you probably could say that even early abortion is the destruction of human life.

But the church itself is not sure when "ensoulment" really happens. The Rev. Thomas O'Donnell, S.J., admits that one "cannot be certain ensoulment occurs at the first moment of conception. But since no one can say precisely when it does occur, we must act as if it were that moment."

The church may proceed from that premise, but medical science takes a different, more empirical position. "Scientifically, a fetus is no more a human than an acorn is an oak," stated Dr. Robert E. Hall, professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Columbia University. "It is merely a potential human being whose interests are secondary to those of the mother."

So where does that get us? A person with an open, curious mind could argue for hours with a religious person on the subject of abortion and get nowhere. Both would have their own systems of logic and no common basis for discussion.

The best we can say is that no single religion or group of religions has the right to impose their sanctions on a growing number of people, especially young people, who just aren't relating to those religions anymore. And no male-dominated institution like the church should tell a woman what she must do with her body.

The fact that churches can so significantly affect legislation concerning abortion seems to violate the legal separation between church and state. The fact is that the three major religions in the United States -- Protestantism, Judaism and Catholicism -- command a great deal of money and therefore are well equipped to influence legislative decisions.

Yet fewer and fewer religious people are holding to the idea that abortion is murder. Clergymen, including some Catholics, are frequently behind abortion reform bills. Others run abortion counseling services in major Northern cities. The American Baptist Convention, the American Jewish Congress and the Unitarian-Universalist General Assembly have all gone down on record in favor of repeal, not reform, of abortion laws.

The Vatican, however, still stands its ground, infusing guilt and remorse into the millions of Catholic women who do get abortions.

In Italy, for example, the stomping-ground of Roman Catholicism, there are an estimated one



million illegal abortions performed annually. This comes out to one abortion per live birth.

Leonard J. Berry, writing in *Commonweal*, a liberal Catholic magazine, notes that "the Vatican (which wages an eternal and largely successful battle to keep its vast business empire secret) has considerable holdings in Lepetit of Milan, one of the largest pharmaceutical houses in Italy and producer of the most expensive (\$4.64 for 20) Italian birth control pill; it is also known, though the evidence is less firm, that the Vatican has holdings in two more pill-producing companies." This may be the height of hypocrisy, but it is also good business.

Institutional religion, and particularly the Catholic Church, do little to help the masses. A rosary will never fill an empty stomach, and all the prayers in the world will not bring back a son or husband who dies in a war for national glory.

And when dealing with the problem of abortion, the real question is not whether life begins at the moment of conception or three or even nine months later. The real question is whether the pregnant mother can afford to have that child -- financially, physically or psychologically.

A second argument against abortion, one closely tied to the idea of "ensoulment," is that the fetus has rights.

But does the fetus have the right to destroy the life of its future family, which may well not be able to afford another child? Does it have the right to enter a world already groaning under overpopulation and starvation? Does it have the right to be born into a family and a world that may not be able to care for it?

One may say, well, I'm glad my mother didn't have an abortion when she was carrying me. I'm glad she recognized my rights. The logical extension of this position is that every egg that passes through a woman's uterine system should be fertilized. Each egg is a potential human being. Do those eggs have rights, too?

Some people equate abortion with mercy killing and infanticide (murder of a new-born baby). They say that if abortion is made legal, then these acts may become legal too.

Both these activities do go on clandestinely, and are seldom discovered by the authorities. We would guess that if abortion were made free and legal, there would be far fewer cases of infanticide. Some desperate women will get rid of the unwanted fetus one way or another, even if they have to do it after birth. Such women should be permitted to end their pregnancies on psychological and emotional grounds.

Another argument against abortion is that free and legal abortion will weaken the social fabric, by breaking down family ties and by encouraging "promiscuity."

This is an interesting and telling argument. Legalization of abortion might well change the nature of the family. For one thing, people could live together outside of marriage more comfortably, without the worry of that unwanted pregnancy which could force them into unwanted marriage. Also, women who so desire might go through life never giving birth to a child (not every woman considers child-bearing her goal in life!).

Yes, the free and legal abortion might well contribute to the growing movement to alter traditional family structures. Young people in this and other countries are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the insular family unit which forces men to be the relentless bread-winners, women to be the household slaves and nurses and children to be the legal property of their parents. Like all other ancient and repressive institutions,

the traditional family structure will change, abortion or no, as young people find better ways to live their lives.

The argument that changing the abortion laws will encourage "promiscuity" is above all a male argument, whether presented by men or women. Men have been "promiscuous" for centuries, while women have been forced to remain chaste and faithful. Again, this is a tradition that is changing, and the legalization of abortion will not deter nor accelerate the change. Some people find fulfillment in having sexual relations with lots of different people; others have tried it and prefer a more monogamous relationship. But both men and women should be free to find out for themselves, and no law can prevent or encourage this process.

The argument that easy access to abortion may weaken the social fabric may, in one sense, be correct.

When an oppressed group of people, like women, are granted small freedoms, they will begin to understand the potential for their total freedom. The women's liberation movement did not stop with the winning of the vote, or with the right to education. It will not stop when women are admitted to all the professions, or when they are permitted to make decisions concerning their reproductive cycle.

Of course it would oversimplify the case for abortion to say that every American citizen totally supports free and legal abortion, and that the church and state are withholding from people what they all unequivocally demand.

What are the subjective, unspoken arguments that work against reform or repeal of abortion laws?

Are men in general fearful that if women were granted control over their bodies they would be encouraged to free themselves from other forms of male domination? Are women, many of whom have learned to live with their lack of freedom, afraid to make real decisions for themselves instead of leaving them up to the men? Are some people, particularly members of the medical profession, afraid that legal abortion could lead to free abortion and eventually to socialized medicine? Are underground abortionists unwilling to give up their lucrative, but exploitative, businesses?

We don't pretend to know what's in people's minds. We do think however, that people have been conditioned for centuries to fear real freedom, even when they exist on varying levels of misery. We know that doctors in capitalist countries are largely opposed to free and decent medical care for all, and that the American Medical Association has never come out for repeal of abortion laws. We know that the abortion underground in the United States, the third largest racket in the nation, makes a lot of extra money for reputable doctors. Draw your own conclusions.

on request. The Eastern European countries that have legalized abortion interpret abortion laws more liberally than do, for instance, Scandinavian countries.

The general guidelines under which most of these countries permit abortion are: if the risk (mental, physical or social) of birth is greater than the risk of abortion; if continued pregnancy would threaten the stability of the pregnant woman's family; if the pregnant woman already has four (in some cases three) children. The abortion laws in Denmark also consider the "conditions under which the woman will have to live."

In Sweden, if a woman wants an abortion on psychiatric grounds, she must get the recommendation of two doctors. And in Denmark, if there are social or psychological considerations, a woman has to get the approval of the Mothers' Aid Institute, a board composed of a social worker, a gynecologist and a psychiatrist.

In all of these countries, the woman pays little or nothing for her abortion, which is always performed by a doctor under sterile conditions. Women who get abortions in these countries suffer far fewer post-abortion complications, both physical and mental, than do women in the United States.

Abortion death rates have fallen off considerably in each of these countries since the laws were liberalized. In Sweden, the abortion death rate fell from 257 per 100,000 in 1946-48 to 39 per 100,000 in 1960-66. In Japan, where abortion laws are the most liberal and abortions are performed in early pregnancy, there are only 1 to 4 abortion deaths per 100,000.

## The "Reform" States

In the first part of this series on abortion (see *Space City News*, #6) we explained why the few states in this country that have liberalized the laws have done little to solve the abortion problem. This discussion is so important that it needs re-emphasis here.

The nine states that have "legalized" abortion are Colorado, California, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, New Mexico and Mississippi.

Even in these states conditions for a legal abortion are difficult for most women to meet. More important, the high cost of any form of medical care in America systematically excludes poor and even middle-class women from getting legal abortion care.

In New York City, for instance, where legal abortions are performed under certain very strict conditions, 3.9% of all legal abortions per 1,000 births are performed in private hospitals. Only .1% are performed in municipal hospitals, where people who can't afford private medical care are treated.

In our last article, we estimated that a legal abortion could cost a woman as much as \$1,000. We now learn that women have paid up to \$1,800 for the whole legal abortion package.

So the cost is prohibitive. Furthermore, every legal abortion case must be approved by a hospital abortion committee most frequently composed of men.

Hospital administrators are often cautious about the number of abortions they give out. An administrator from a California hospital was

continued on 23

## In Other Countries

Legal abortion may seem a threatening concept to some people in the United States, but laws in many countries, including Japan, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, now permit cheap, legal abortion care for women. The consequences in most cases have been healthy ones.

Women who desire abortions are still subject to certain restrictions in most countries. One exception is Japan, whose overpopulation problems has been so severe that women are given abortions

## Doctors For Repeal

NEW YORK (LNS) -- Eighty-three physicians have responded to the campaign launched in July by New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal (NYALR). The doctors have signed a petition to the American Medical Assn., making the following points:

(1) All abortion laws must be repealed.

(2) Proposals to "reform" abortion laws, rather than repeal them, must be opposed, because their intent is to define even more closely what medical care a physician may provide.

(3) Hospital abortion committees, which pass judgement upon the decision of the individual physician, must be abolished.

The problem is immense.

Thousands of women, most of them poor, die each year from illegal abortions. In New York the death rate from illegal abortion is about five times as high for Puerto Ricans as for whites, and eight times as high for black women as for white women.

The repeal campaign continues. For information contact Nancy Nickerson (NYALR Public Education Chairman) 212-982-6506, evenings; or James Clapp (NYALR Research Chairman) - 212-475-2434; or write New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, 2 West 64 Street, New York, N.Y. 10023.

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# the famil

Last Spring the Theater of All Possibilities moved to Houston from New York. They bought an old neighborhood lounge at 2400 Brazos and turned it into the Maverick Camel Restaurant. This was to be their source of funds for the theater. After a few months, though, they left for a commune near Taos, New Mexico, selling the Camel to a Houston group known as the Family of Hands. Later, the name was changed to the Family Hand Restaurant.

Here an amazing variety of people come together. Over at the bar three people are sitting: a pretty hippie girl with a yin-yang on her blouse, a black guy about 250 pounds with a blue silk jacket and a chartreuse shirt, and a skinny guy with a cowboy hat. Hendrix is blasting from the juke box.

At a table, two revolutionists are rapping hard rhetoric. A biker in a jean jacket leans on a pool cue, watching a freak and a redneck shoot a game. And a four-foot poster of a little black girl smiles down on the felt of the pool table.

A couple of fraternity men and their pinmates sit upright in Esquire Magazine -- an evening in Bohemia. Someone's grandmother, a little tired, squeaks cheerfully to an amiable black student. One of the neighborhood children watches the other pool table as a local kid, about sixteen, waxes his opponent. Leaning against a Western mural that runs the length of one wall, Montrose Fats peers past a bottle of Pearl.

Teeny-boppers with bells giggle in a booth with an old-time freak sleepily smiling. Donovan chants softly to the cracking of a chicano pool shot and a couple of black radicals walk in, neat and serious. A little wary, two well-ironed couples of about 30 have come to see it.

And there's a guy you went to high school with. But his hair was a lot shorter then. And his head was different. A lot of things have happened since high school. He came together with a lot of people: the Pentagon in '67, Chicago in '68 and Woodstock in '69. Lots of changes.

Now you go in the head and look in the mirror: you appear just as strange to him as he does to you. Dig it.

Scrawled on the john wall beside the mirror, you notice the words: "Fight For Freedom." Fight for it. And live it.

Houston has a place to bring people together.

— Mike Kinsley





# y hand



Photos by Carol and David Courtney





# BIKERS talk about easy rider

Recently the staff of the Fifth Estate, members of the Zulus motorcycle club and people from Detroit Newsreel a movement film making group, went to a press screening of "Easy Rider."

The film is about two bikers played by Peter Fonda (Captain America) and Dennis Hopper (Billy), who produced and directed the film, riding out to Mardi Gras in Search of America on two beautiful choppers.

After selling a load of coke they scored in Mexico the film becomes a series of encounters between the travelers and various life styles: a New Mexican ranchero family, a group of city kids trying to make it in a romantic communal setting in the hills, a young alcoholic lawyer who links up with them in a small town jail cell. This commitment to throw in with them subsequently costs the attorney his life when the local crackers come down on the three as they lay sleeping by the side of the road. Fonda and Hopper continue to play out their trip and in the end are cut down by the same forces that destroyed the lawyer.

What follows is a discussion of the film by Detroit Newsreel and the Zulus.



N: One weakness with the flick is that it runs down the bikers' response to their situations, but it doesn't run down what those situations are; it doesn't talk about why out of their own lives they chose this solution. What does it tell people about their own lives, if they are not a biker? The thing I really want to get into is whether these guys, Fonda and Hopper, are two really unusual cats that are picked out as some sort of special case or whether they're about something larger than that, whether they stand for something that you can identify with or dig into, or whether it's a solitary trip that somebody can say, well, that's just two guys. See, I dig that film as an American film that talks about what it's like right here in 1969, what it's like to have long hair and ride a bike, or be apart from the fucking society.

Z: People want to be free, and it shows in different ways. Like people tried the commune, and that one Citizen he tried to get on the back of a bike and tried to live the same way they were and tried to get a sense of this freedom for himself. And whether you're the Mexican family, whether you're on the back of a bike or in a commune or whatever you're doing, everybody feels that they want to be free, they want to be close, that they want to get away from this mass of special cases at all.

N: Do they get away from it?

Z: They attempt to. Like running the coke across the border and feeding somebody else's vice. They had to buy their own freedom instead of having it come natural the way it should be. And that might be a bummer, you know.

N: Not really. That's a real political question, how do people become free in this fucking society? One way is to do your own thing and break away from the society, go form a commune in the mountains or just ride your bike around 365 days, not getting attached to anything. But the reality of America is that Mexican family—they don't have any choice about that. I see that the only way to change it is for people to understand why the society is plastic and why you can't live in it and what the source of that is. When you understand that, you try to organize

people against the society, against what's causing people's lives to be miserable.

Z: It might have been trying to say that, too. What is freedom, the commune in the mountains or riding your bike? Where is the answer? They're showing all different alternatives and then at the end of the movie it's really fucked up, because they just blow them away. It just leaves all these loose ends hanging. It doesn't come out and say anything. It's a stone cop-out.

N: It would have been so much more real if the cats had been blown away by the pigs back in that town where they were, because the reality was that the commune wasn't defeated by the weather. According to the interview with Fonda in Good Times, they were all busted. It wasn't the weather, it wasn't any kind of accident, they were busted by the pigs. If Fonda had really wanted to say something he would have had the cats blown away by the sheriff. What happens in the film is that they get blown away by some cat who's just as fucked over as they are.

Z: Any time you're different from the man with the money and the power you're going to get fucked with because you're not like him. He wants everyone like him or working for him. If you're not doing that, you lose. Sooner or later they are going to get you. You got to be a drone.

Z: Well, society tells him that he should be happy and he should be fulfilled because he's got all these things. He sees other people don't have all these things that are supposed to make you happy, but they

seem to have something that he doesn't, so he's going to stone get down on them with everything he's got. Because he's got all these things, man, you know, and he says to himself: "I've worked all my life for my kids and they're going to be just like me and I'm going to give all this to them" . . . and nobody wants it man.

N: Maybe he also thinks that they're just trying to take it away from him, too. He sees any change as a threat to what he's worked his whole life for. And even though he doesn't dig it, he can't deal with the fact that he doesn't dig it.

Z: It's like what Huey Newton said. The pigs are here not to protect our property, because we don't have any. So they must be here to protect somebody else's property. When you haven't got anything, it's just yourself, wow.

N: The flick never really deals with what you're going to do about that.

Z: The lawyer ran it all down about the freedom and stuff like that. And he said the people saw some freedom and they were scared.

N: I don't think the film does a hell of a lot on that question. What it does is lay out that there are going to be two Americas, people who are trying to be free and people who are threatened by that freedom. I think what the film is trying to do is take a basic American myth: the guy who cuts out, the loner, and elaborate it. But that's not enough. As far as changing society, you can't do it by just doing your

own thing. And I'm hung up on the flick not dealing with that. It's really an obstacle, because people think we're the enemy and they think we're the ones who keep them in the traps they are in and we're the ones who fuck up the country. And at some point a flick like this has to get down to that.

Z: Well, going back to your traps, okay, these people feel trapped, and they can't get out of this bag that they're in and they see other people that are not in that bag, that aren't trapped and they can't understand it. And things that people can't understand, it scares people. And anything that scares you too long, you do away with it.

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# Hair Develops Split Ends

By Doug Milburn

If you'll allow a brittle conceit, Hair is developing split ends. Not only is it multiplying and spreading over the earth like some kind of Butleric Plague, it is also proving itself to be the time-bound, extremely commercial, hypocritical, only slightly imaginative cultural artifact that it seemed to be at the outset. A sort of My Fair Lady of the sixties.

And at least one company, the Los Angeles group, is literally going to pieces. Sadly so, for the L.A. performers initially seemed able to communicate a bit of valuable energy and hope through the crass and basically dull music. But no more. Sloppy is the word for the L.A. Hair now; not playful sloppy, nor anarchistic sloppy, but bored sloppy. A senior play that's run too long.

Whatever Hair was, it was never a rock musical. Still there were times in the past when both the New York and Los Angeles casts could rise above the insipid musical material and project some fairly intense stimuli. And they were nicely ambiguous stimuli at that: love for the love people, revolution for the revolution people, and so on. Now, with the cast's interest waning, the already weak music dies somewhere in the first few bars of the opening number.

There were those who originally applauded Hair, in spite of its many weaknesses, as a big step forward, a quasi-anarchic attempt to loosen the rigid and decaying structure of the American musical. Maybe it was. But of all forms of human behavior, anarchy requires the most rigid, continuing control if it is to work. Which is why most political anarchists are walking contradictions in terms. And Hair is quite clearly out of control, at least

in Los Angeles. Not because it is growing, but precisely because it isn't. And it isn't growing because it was never alive. If the pseudo-hip producers (Chicago millionaire Michael Butler, TV millionaire Tom Smothers, et al.) had been as honest as they like to think they are, they would from the beginning have called the thing maybe Wig. Or Hairpiece. Real hair it is not.

And the cast of course knows it. Many beautiful, talented people are involved in the performance and were apparently as bored as I was. I thought I perceived evidence that many of the cast (say around 100%) were performing in a state of altered consciousness -- not the better to groove on the beauty of it all, but simply to get through the whole dull business just one more time.

Still the thing occasionally works. The nude scene is effective. And L.A. does it with enough candle-power to satisfy the most jaded voyeur. 3-D beaver flicks and the locker-room-without-fear, both at once. We've got a long way to go: bodies, for chrissake! (And to get all the sex and porno out of the way in one paragraph: the L.A. audience is still tittering at the "shits" and "fucks." Ah, America, America.)

Perhaps the best that can be said of the whole sad affair is that the people doing all those dead songs seem to care about each other a great deal. Whatever power the show generates, now springs, I suspect, from their mutual concern and support. I would guess it's not unlike the feeling that developed among the inmates of Auschwitz.

If you're on the coast, drop by the Aquarius Theater anyway. But save your \$7.50. The huge painting by The Fool on the outside west wall is free and well worth contemplating for the three hour period you would otherwise be trapped inside.



Reserved Tickets: \$4.50 - \$5.50 - \$6.50

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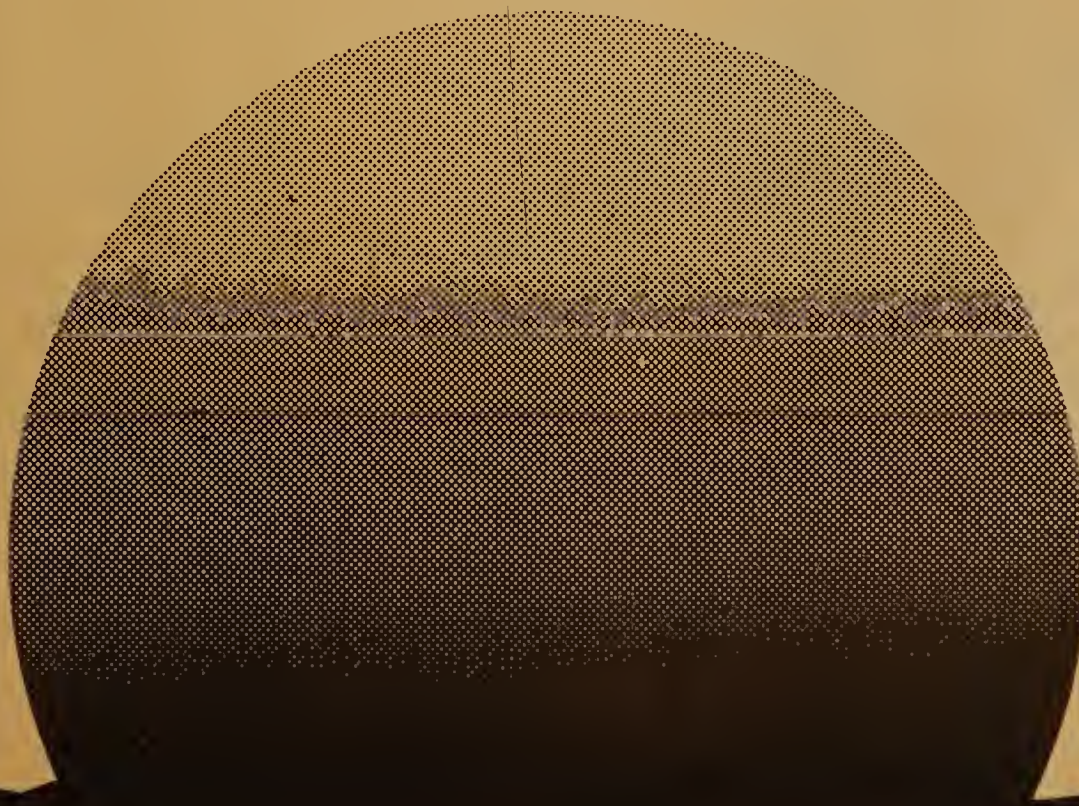
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# Serve the People

continued from 2

joined with all other patriotic forces in the South to form the PRG. This is not a paper government, but one which is functioning throughout most of South Vietnam. The U.S. government refuses to recognize the PRG at the Paris negotiations and still insists that the Saigon dictatorship governs the South. The PRG proposes a fully democratic republic upon withdrawal of the U.S. -- with all elements desiring a sovereign South Vietnam. Free elections will follow and a permanent government will work out the eventual reuniting of North and South.

**END THE SURTAX --** No more blood tax.

**SUPPORT GI RIGHTS AND GI REBELLIONS --** Desertions from the Army are at an all-time high. The entire military machine has found it impossible to turn soldiers into obedient killer robots. From Long Binh, South Vietnam, to Ft. Hood, Texas, guys are demanding their human rights and an end to the war. Time and again, they are attacking the military tyranny. Their fight must be supported.

**SELF - DETERMINATION FOR BLACK AND BROWN PEOPLES --** Whites must overcome their racism and their white-skin privilege and aggressively aid blacks and browns in this struggle.

**FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN --** Women are almost universally tied to the home as a cheap domestic labor force. They generally get the worst and lowest paying jobs, particularly if they

are black or brown. A woman is measured by her value as a sex object, not as a creative and thinking human being. The institution of male supremacy that keeps woman in her place must be destroyed before she can achieve her potential as an equal member of human society.

**FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS --** As the battle for liberation goes on, the list of political activists held prisoner by the State grows longer. Repression has hit the Panthers hardest. Huey Newton is in a California penitentiary, Eldridge Cleaver is in exile, and now Bobby Seale has been kidnapped by the FBI on trumped-up charges. We must demand the immediate release of these and the hundreds of other political prisoners.

**FREE AND DECENT HEALTH CARE FOR ALL --** Who can afford to be sick in the U.S. besides the wealthy? How many people are forced into debt in order to pay hospital and doctor bills? How many go untreated because the medical profession gets the money? Health care is a right, not a privilege.

**THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE --** The education system faithfully serves the selfish needs of profit-obsessed business. Everyone knows that is true and that it must be stopped now.

**INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO --** Puerto Rico remains a legal colony of the U.S. because businessmen want to preserve their tax advantage. The Puerto Rican people's



Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, is one of the Conspiracy 8, to be tried in Chicago October 10. -Pasternak/LNS

cry for independence is identical to that of all people in the Third World and blacks and browns in the U.S. And their freedom must be won.

These are demands articulating the unfulfilled needs of the people, needs going criminally unmet by the institutions of this society. But these problems will be solved, one way or another.

## houston october 4

SDS and the Northside Revolutionary Youth Movement are calling a city-wide rally in Houston, 1:00 Saturday afternoon, Oct. 4, in Hermann Park. It is being held in support of the same ten demands. The first rally of its kind in this city, it will be a giant step toward the creation of a strong

Houston movement. The situation here is not that much different from any place else in the nation. Houston is no sort of exception. The same questions relevant to the rest of the U.S. and the world are relevant here.

In the northside, NSRYM has a program designed to make the schools serve the people of that community. They sure don't now, in that part of town or any other. People can't put up much longer with things like they are now.

Look at the public kindergarten fiasco. Instead of it being free, a family is stuck with \$20 a month per child. Can working-class parents pay that? But the Houston school board can spend \$20,000 of the people's money to fight integration and put out \$6 million to build itself a fancy new office building. Is this how an institution of the people should serve the people?

Mexican-American students recently walked out of Houston high schools in protest of racist policies and racist education. They are talking about the schools serving them and their community.

Examine the colleges and universities in this area. Racism was fought

at the University of Houston last spring and some gains were made. But the number of black and brown students there is still criminally small and UH is still a racist institution. As for the kind of education you get there, it isn't called "Cougar High" for nothing. South Texas and San Jacinto Junior Colleges don't even pretend to match the miserable standards of UH. It's like having to repeat your last two years of high school. As for Rice, what a sad, privileged, elitest joke -- feeding the upper strata of society its quota of technocrats, engineers, and managers to keep the system running smoothly. And just ask people about the scene at Texas Southern and how "separate but equal" education works.

You know Houston, Texas. The way money and power runs this town without any real attempt to be subtle, but constantly flexing its muscles to keep all of us in our places. To make their point, they take Lee Otis Johnson and put him away for 30 years. They nail Danny Schacht for six months as a result of anti-war activities. And SDS'ers and Space City News are fingered for terrorist attacks from the Klan, letting whites know that their skin doesn't make them immune.

They send a list downtown to District Attorney Carol Vance and he personally selects the black and white scapegoats, producing the UH 14. TSU shows signs of possible defiance back in '67, so they unleash a cop riot, throwing over 700 in jail and then choosing the TSU 5 as the "murderers" of a cop whom evidence showed was really killed by his fellow rioters. That's repression Houston style, and those are our political prisoners. And the everyday hassles can't be counted.

There isn't any way to escape it. We are all part of Houston and the U.S.A. The answer isn't struggle for struggle's sake anymore than it is finding our own individual shells to hide in. But we can, and eventually we must, pull together to fight for our needs and struggle in solidarity with all people oppressed by this monstrous system. Let's begin now.

Houston October 4  
Chicago October 11  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!





# Selective Servitude

This is the first of a series of articles which Space City News is preparing on the Selective Service System in America. The articles will attempt to place the SSS in its historical context. They will also examine today's draft in some detail and try to determine just who is drafting whom.

The first large-scale attempt at conscription in the United States came during the Civil War.

In the North, Lincoln was authorized under the Militia Act of 1862 to draft in those areas that didn't fill their quota of volunteers. Public reaction was very negative and demonstrations occurred in many Northern cities.

Lincoln, determined to suppress open criticism and demonstrations, suspended the writ of habeas corpus to anyone who discouraged enlistments or resisted the draft. This eliminated those citizens' rights to a trial by jury -- many were tried before military courts with sentences ranging from prison to firing squads. During the War, over 13,000 civilians were held by military authorities under this provision.

The most interesting part of the Militia Act of 1862 allowed a draftee who didn't want to go to furnish another person to serve as a substitute. This led to "substitute brokers" who got rich from fees paid them for providing substitutes. There were also professional subs who would stand in for the draftee (at a price), then desert and repeat the same process in another town.

Partly because of such abuses, the new draft bill of 1863 permitted draftees to pay the government \$300 as an alternative to furnishing a substitute. Here, just as in the previous arrangement, the poor shouldered the heaviest burden of conscription, for they could afford neither \$300 nor a substitute.

Many members of the lower classes were well aware of this discrimination, however, and after the new draft bill in 1863 failed to provide any relief, there were riots in most Northern cities.

The most important of these riots occurred in New York in July of 1863. The first New York drawing held under the 1863 bill to select more draftees produced a list of names predominantly Irish. This, coming after two years of fighting in which the Irish had suffered heavy casualties, had a profound effect on the Irish immigrant community, largely laborers who were unable to afford the \$300 bribe.

So the Irish rebelled, taking control of the city for more than three days. It finally took six regiments of regular army troops -- about 10,000 men and three batteries of artillery -- to restore law and order and insure that the business of drafting the Irish could proceed unhindered.

In the South, the situation was much the same. There was conscription with a provision for substitutes, as in the North, and also provisions for the occupational deferment of certain people, including minor officials, newspapermen, lawyers, druggists and school teachers.

The next American experience with conscription was after America's entry into World War I. At this time, selective conscription was put into practice. This means that men whose civilian activities are "essential to the national interest" are not drafted. A crucial question here is, Who defines the "national interest"? It is interesting to note that in 1917, Congress provided exemptions for ministers, divinity students and certain public officials only.

There was a significant amount of opposition to this law. Most of this opposition took the same form as most of today's opposition: evasion on an individual level. Woodrow Wilson was saying, "It (the draft) is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling, it is, rather, selection from a nation that has volunteered."

Some guys, however, weren't so sure that they were "willing." Thousands of these "volunteers" didn't show up when called, and thousands of others didn't even bother to register. Many left the country to avoid the draft; and so many guys had their teeth pulled to get a physical exemption that the War Department had to warn dentists that they were liable to prosecution for aiding evasion. After the end of the war the draft bill was not renewed, in spite of a very determined lobby for Universal Military Training.

In certain respects, the system of conscription in America today resembles both Civil War and World War I conscription. As was the case during W.W. I, we now have selective service (read: channeling), and public opposition is mainly on an individual level. And, like in the Civil War laws, there is still a distinct class bias in the draft, although today it is a little more complex. (We will talk more about this in later articles.)

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# Draft Resisters Clog Courts

OAKLAND, Calif. (LNS) -- A hard rain is falling on the rickety world of Lewis B. Hershey. There is mushrooming discontent with the process whereby the Army kidnaps innocent young men, kicks them in the balls, cuts off their hair, and sends them to fight elephant grass and the local populace in distant Southwest Asian jungles -- that's right, the draft. The hatred of the draft has generated a rash of challenges in the courts which threaten to cripple, if not destroy, the Selective Service System of Amerika, Inc.

They've got a permanent FBI man stationed here at the Oakland Army Induction Center, who does nothing but deal with the average of ten refusals per day. Maybe he also gets some ghoulish thrill from watching the half-clothed unwilling victims of the Army's pre-induction meat inspection, but his job is to take care of those who refuse to step forward to take their vows. He pops up, raps down their rights in a routine mumble, fills out a few of his forms, and starts the ball of repression rolling.

Admittedly, Oakland is a heavier scene than most. In October 1967, West Coast activists mounted a militant Stop-the-Draft-Week attack on the Oakland Induction Center, marking the introduction of the new mobile, hit-and-run approach to mass demonstrations. And the Panthers have seen fit to set up their National Headquarters in Oakland. But Oakland's draft resistance is getting to be as American as apple pie.

In Washington, Justice Department statisticians are gloomy. The backlog in the courts runs at least one year

on draft cases even though by law they have the top priority of all criminal matters. In the attempt to reduce the backlog, the reluctant inductees are often offered a chance to repent just before the trial begins. But cases continue to pile up faster than the courts can handle them.

More than 5000 "delinquencies" are under investigation and thousands more await discovery. If the trend continues, and the investigations produce more and more indictments each month, even the current stopgap measure of special judges in overworked districts to hear nothing but pre-trial arguments in draft cases may not be enough.

Dig these statistics from Uncle Sam:

From July to December of 1967 there were 746 Federal indictments handed down all across the nation on charges of resisting the draft: failing to register, failing to take the oath, and the like.

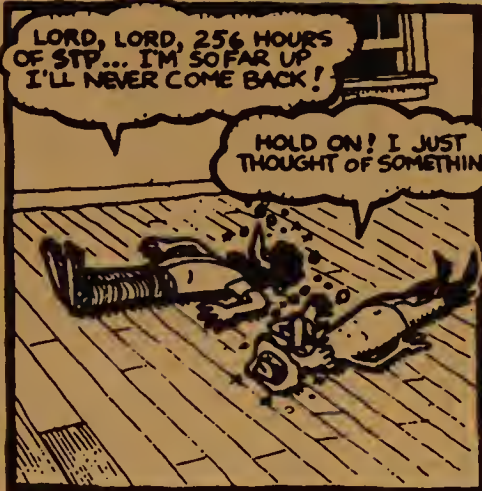
In the next six-month period -- from January to June, 1968 -- the number had gone up to 1080 indictments. And in the last half of 1968, the number of indictments nationwide had jumped to 1492. Thus, in all of 1968, one percent of the quarter of a million men drafted by the Army, got their cases all the way into the belly of that sluggish monster known as the Federal Court System. When 2472 tiny time-capsules go off in the blood stream of the sorry behemoth, the poor thing knows it's a down.

On July 1, 1969, some 2958 criminal cases were pending in all Federal courts involving various violations of the draft laws -- mostly men refusing induction. That's 15 percent of all criminal cases on the Federal dockets.

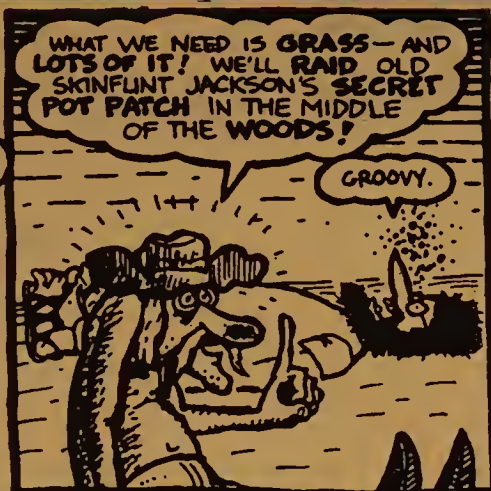




# The Paranoid Press Proudly Presents THOSE FAMOUS NUTTY FREAKS



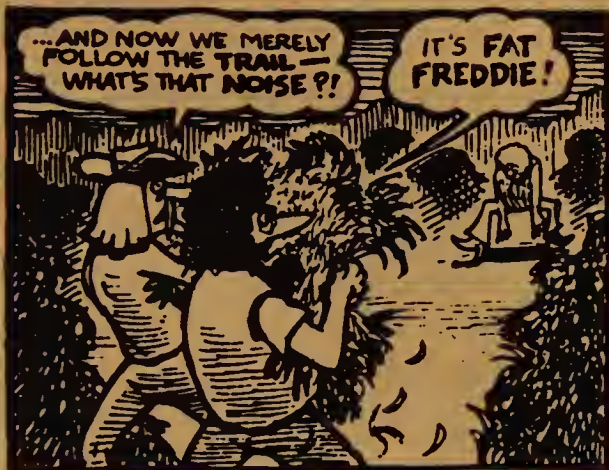
HOLD ON! I JUST THOUGHT OF SOMETHING!



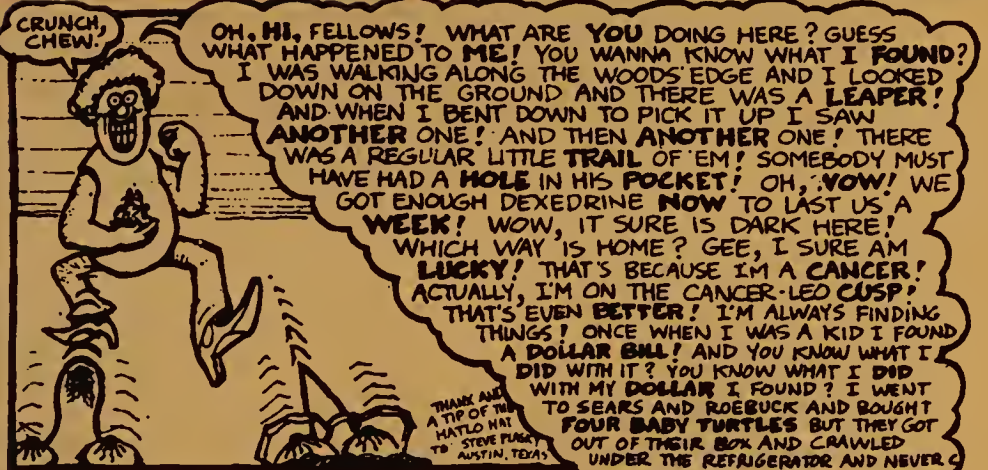
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THANK AND A TIP OF THE HATLO HAT TO STEVE PUCKY AUSTIN, TEXAS

## VOID WHERE PROHIBITED

Comrades, you have probably heard about the bombs, break-ins, and other terrorist activities which the right-wing bourgeois-lackey racists have been attacking us with. They are afraid of what will happen when the people learn the truth. Well... broken doors, and windows, and stolen typewriters, must be replaced. The word is more powerful than the sword, but the word is also more costly. Because of and in accordance with these facts of Houston life, we hereby announce our first annual, genuine, power-to-the-people, Halloween, Saving Stamp Collection Contest.

Saving stamps, like Big Bonus and Top Value, are worth one mil each. That means that ten of them are worth a penny, and a jillion of 'em are worth a pretty penny. They can buy paper, ink, watermelons, and other revolutionary armas.

So here goes our contest. The school or collective that donates the most stamps by midnight, October 31, will be presented with a super-significant "Hero Award."

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to big businessmen around the country. Jones was chosen fund-raiser for Texas, a role he performed so admirably that he was asked to join the Red Cross national staff in Washington, D.C. Jones accepted and found himself among big business Republicans, men with whom he had much in common although he considered himself a Democrat.

He was a Democrat, he said, because his father was one. He made good use of his party membership and family connections to become friends with President Woodrow Wilson (Stockton Axson, English Professor at Rice University, was Wilson's brother-in-law and a good friend of Jones). Jones is said to have had the ear of Wilson, and undoubtedly acted as a conduit for requests of the President. Wilson considered sending a commission to Russia during the height of the Revolution in an effort to bolster the Kerensky government's position against the Bolsheviks. According to a letter written by Stockton Axson, the man Wilson wanted to head this delicate troubleshooting commission was none other than the long, tall Texan. Wilson abandoned this plan, and soon died. Jones showed his devotion to the memory of Wilson by endowing the Woodrow Wilson School of Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia.

Jones' involvement with the Democratic Party escalated. In 1924 he was a Texas delegate to the national party convention. When asked to become the party's financial director, he accepted, and performed with predictable efficiency. He virtually liquidated the party's debt by pressuring rich members to cough up contributions. His methods were effective, but were not admired by all the party members. FDR was especially critical. He disapproved of Jones collecting contributions from "a mere handful of rich or moderately rich gentlemen."

Jones' tight grip on the purse strings of the Democratic Party needless to say had some influence on the Democratic National Committee's choice of Houston as the site for the 1928 Democratic Convention. Jones plunked down his personal check for \$200,000 and promised the committee that a brand new auditorium to seat 35,000 would be built by the next summer. The bargain was struck, and the following summer thousands of delegates and hangers-on descended on the little city to experience heat that few of them would ever forget.

The city was taken over by the conventioners, and Jesse Jones was king: it was his convention in his town. The convention that nominated Alfred E. Smith also nominated Jesse Jones as favorite son candidate for the Presidency.

Smith lost his ass in the election, and the Democratic Party fell on bad days. In fact, things were getting tough all over. The Hoover administration tried frantically to plug the holes without departing from its hands-off-business policy. A creation of this desperate effort was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It was hoped that the RFC could hold down bank panic and keep banks solvent, but things just got worse and worse.

Instrumental in setting up the RFC was the Southern Democratic coalition in Congress, which ran the government during the Hoover Administration. If it seems strange that this bunch would approve of any government dabbling in the private sector, one must remember that at the time the magnolia freaks resented the financial control exercised by Wall Street, and anything the government could do to decrease this control had Southern support. The political debt the administration owed the Southerners was repayed by placing one of their number on the RFC Board: King Nottoc!

With the Democratic victory that brought FDR landsliding into Washington, changes were made in the RFC. Within five days after the new administration began, Congress had changed the direction of the RFC from prevention to reconstruction. Jesse Jones stayed on. The incongruity of his presence among the New Dealers was noted by the liberal press. The February 27, 1935 New Republic commented that he was "a man inextricably bound up with the old economic system, whose selfish interests are all entwined with the budget-balancing school of business men and who could not possibly believe in the big spending program that Mr. Roosevelt adopted . . . and hopes to expand."

## Expanding Power

The operations of the RFC expanded. Congress vested more and more functions in the organization, largely because Jesse Jones, a clever diplomat, was immensely popular on Capitol Hill. His casual manner and quiet speaking voice reassured congressional subcommittees, which trusted him to handle vast sums of money. There is no doubt that Congress would have been less willing to bestow such power on any other man. He was a tantalizing compromise between New Deal philosophy and the laissez faire beliefs of those who held power in Congress. The power and prerogatives at Jones' disposal made socialists drool, for he was empowered to nationalize railroads, banks, insurance companies, and otherwise involve the Federal Government in the economy. The power had been entrusted to him -- and only to him -- by conservatives because they knew he would use it in acceptedly old fangled ways.

With his eventual acceptance of the post of Secretary of Commerce he held more important jobs than anyone else in the government with the exception of the President himself. A few of his positions were: head of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, administrator of the Federal Loan Agency, Director of the Federal National Mortgage Association, Director of Federal Housing Authority, head of the Export-Import Bank, and, of course, Director of the RFC and the RFC Mortgage Company. Senator Robert A. Taft, a friend of Jones, com-

mented on his appointment as Secretary of Commerce. On the floor of the Senate he said, "I have no great objection to giving Mr. Jones the additional power to act as Secretary of Commerce, but I think it is an extraordinary precedent justified only by the character of the man, and which I hope may not be repeated." Jones' appointment was approved. When a New York Times reporter asked what role he expected to play as Secretary of Commerce, he replied, "The main thing is that I expect to be the representative of business in the President's Cabinet."

When war threatened, the RFC was the organization assigned the task of preparing the nation for war. The RFC let defense contracts, financed the building of hundreds of defense plants, accumulated stockpiles of materials needed for the war effort, and financed research programs to develop synthetic rubber. RFC also lent money to other government agencies involved in preparing for war, and Jones made sure that he was kept well informed about the activities of these agencies. He refused credit to those ventures that he disliked, and so was able to exercise great control over the speed with which the country was mobilized -- a fact which angered those who were anxious to get the war effort moving.

One of his important targets was the Board of Economic Warfare, an agency charged with procuring raw materials on the world market. The BEW activities often conflicted with RFC projects, and Jones did everything he could to maintain the RFC's superiority. When Henry Wallace was appointed head of BEW, the rivalry between the two agencies took on an ideological flavor. FDR took the attitude of an indignant parent toward two rascally children.

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" " Hot Dog Sand.	1.10



continued from 4

Cattle and Land Co., though the present status of that property is not clear; John A. Beck, 52, husband of Audrey, also director of Bankers Mortgage, director of TNBC, an initial backer of Houston Colt .45's, former co-owner of Boeck Engineering Co.; H.F. Warren, 68, secretary, elected to replace John T. Jones after his resignation as trustee, also director of Bankers Mortgage, employed by Jones interests since 1929.

These five men and one woman administer the Endowment's holdings -- which lie in two principal areas, real estate and stocks and bonds. Because ownership is listed under many different corporations and subsidiaries, a complete account is difficult to obtain -- and the worth of such holdings purely a matter of opinion, since no two appraisers will grant the same value to any one piece of property.

The Endowment's 1968 tax return indicated total assets as being \$167.2 million. Other informed sources have placed the Endowment's worth at closer to \$500 million. Probably there's no way of estimating a true value -- short of actually selling all the properties and counting the money, a method the Endowment would be unlikely to favor.

The following are the major properties of which we were able to establish Endowment ownership:

Real Estate

Downtown (See Map) -- All or part of ten city blocks under the name of Houston Endowment or Houston Chronicle Publishing Co. This property includes both the land and the buildings mentioned on the map. Total worth (derived from assessed valuation figures and almost certainly too low) is about \$30 million.

charity for fun and ...

Up until May, 1968 the Endowment also owned the Gulf Building and that lot; both were sold to American General Insurance Co. The blocks on which Jones Hall and the Alley Theatre now rest were donated to the city in 1962. During the past several years, the Endowment has also sold various other smaller properties in the downtown area.



Ship Channel and Industrial Area -- Properties owned under the Endowment, Bankers Mortgage and the Chronicle. Total worth (again from assessed valuation figures) is around \$6.1 million. There is another huge section of land, formerly owned by the Beck Cattle and Land Co., for which we were unable to locate the present ownership; if that may still be counted among the Jones' holdings, it would double the above worth.

Other miscellaneous Harris County properties belonging to the Endowment might total about \$3 million.

It should again be emphasized that the above figures are almost certainly too low. A 1956 article in the Houston Post gave estimated values 300% higher than these.

Stocks & Bonds

No listing is available save for corporations in which the Endowment owns 5% or more stock. Total assets in stocks and bonds listed on 1968 tax return was \$117.2 million. Corporations in which 5% or more stock is owned (with their estimated market value) are as follows:

- Bankers Mortgage Co. - 98.5% (\$12.5 million).
- Cherry & Burnett Properties, Inc. - 100% (\$100,000).
- H&D Corp. - 100% (\$775,000).
- Jones Lumber Co. - 100% (\$400,000).
- Park Avenue - 65th Street Corp. - 100% (\$6 million)
- Realty Management Co. - 100% (\$70,000).
- 612 Park Ave. Corp. - 100% (\$245,000).
- Houston Terminal Warehouse & Cold Storage Co. - 70.5% (\$558,450).
- Ridgeview Land Co. 72% (\$23,000).
- Kyle Building Co. - 50% (\$375,000).
- Houston Chronicle Publishing Co. - 100% (\$35 million).

The stocks in two other major corporations in which they owned over 5%

were sold last year. A 28% controlling interest in Texas National Bank of Commerce was sold in the American General deal for \$42.8 million; and a 7% interest in Bank of Texas was sold to Herman J. Hochman & Co., a Houston investment firm, for \$773,000.

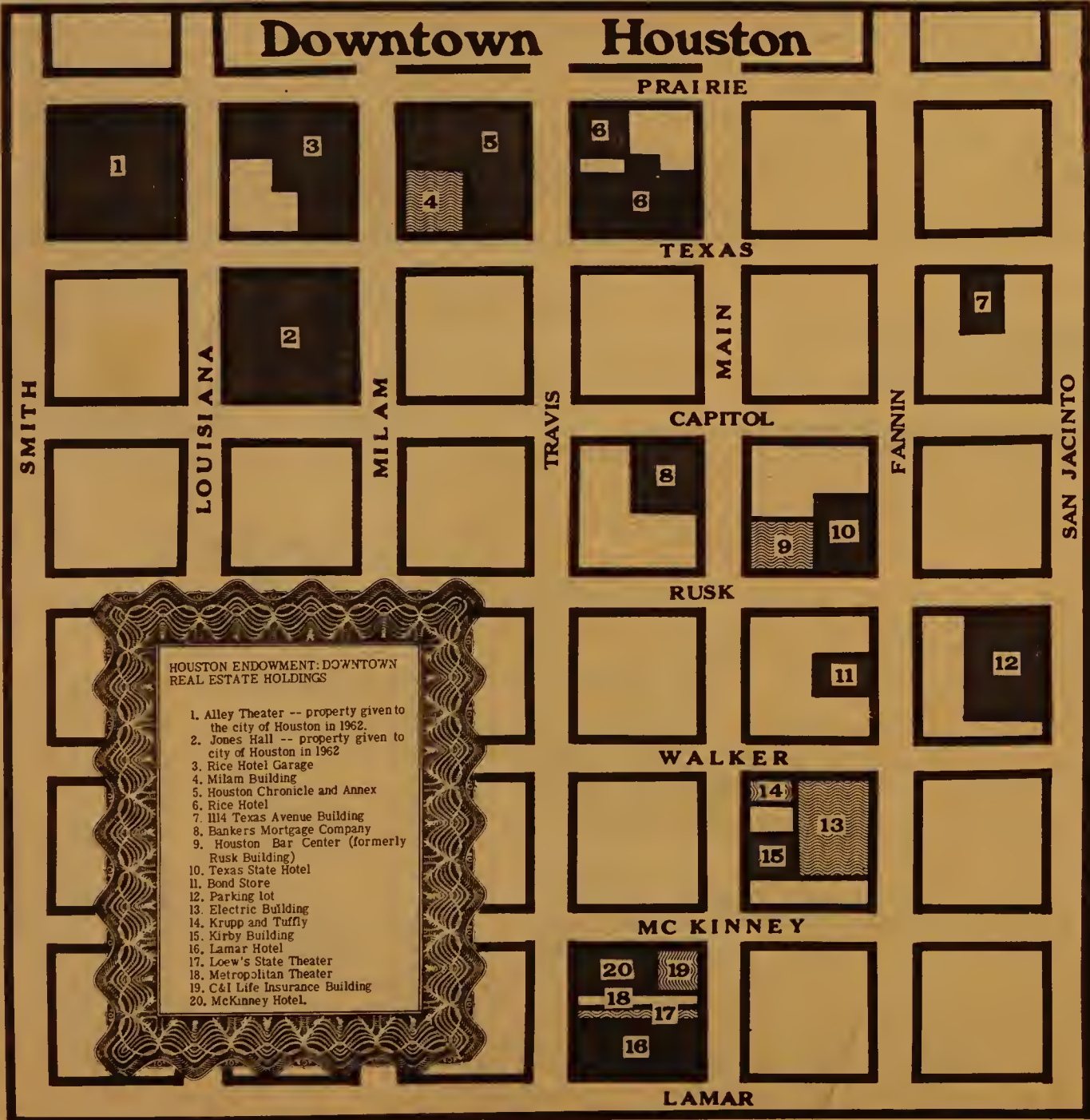
Other Endowment assets in the 1968 report -- including cash, notes receivable and other investments -- total about \$44.25 million.

How It Works

So, there are the pieces -- or most of them, anyway. But how do they fit together?

Briefly, it looks something like this. Houston's power structure embodies what might be called a "limited pluralism." That's not pluralism in the same sense as defined in anybody's civics textbook; it means only that Houston isn't run by as tight a group as controls, for instance, Dallas or New Orleans. Limited means that although several factions may contend for a larger slice of the pie, nobody wants a different flavor. One group may have its interests centered in the downtown area, and another may be trying to pull money out towards the southwest --

continued on 21





# profit

but both will oppose moves that could threaten their financial empires, like the cutting of the oil depletion allowance.

Along with its capital assets, the Endowment inherited a sort of residual influence from Jesse Jones, a position in the power structure. It is a member of the group which is usually referred to in the newspapers as the "downtown interests." (Another strong member of this group is Gus Wortham's American General Insurance Company, mentioned previously. Wortham was an old business buddy of Jesse Jones, and, as is evident from such in-dealings as the TNBC sale, the malady lingers on.)

Threats to the Endowment's happiness, in addition to Patman, have been the City of Pasadena and, most recently, a developer named Gerald Hines.

Pasadena tried to annex 576 acres of the Endowment's property along the Houston Ship Channel. The foundation balked and got an injunction in court, saying the land is suitable only for agricultural and industrial use and annexation would "seriously injure" its market value. The State Supreme Court disagreed and Pasadena annexed the land this June, adding insult to injury by demanding up to \$40,000 it said it lost in taxes during the 10-month-long court fight.

Hines recently proposed an elevated circulatory transit system in the Post Oak - Westheimer shopping complex. At his request, City Council is applying for federal funds to study the idea.

Billed as a possible solution to the city's traffic problems, the circulatory system would enrich the Post Oak - Westheimer merchants -- at the expense of downtown interests -- by luring shoppers to what is now a bad location on busy freeway and road intersections.

The Endowment's influence surely played a part in City Council's delayed approval of Hines' request for federal monies until he had promised to include the downtown area in his study. No mention of the proposal was in the Chronicle until the downtown area was included.

The most visible show of the Endowment's muscle-flexing is its operation of the Chronicle.

It would be repetitive here to go into a lengthy discussion of the Chronicle's influence in Houston politics (see that article elsewhere in this issue), but one should note the very demonstrable conflict of interest between the direction of a large financial enterprise and the publishing of a powerful daily newspaper. Though such situations are not unusual in this day of communications empires, their existence reduces to an obvious sham the "free" press's claim to objective and disinterested news.

Apparently, however, even the Endowment isn't too comfortable about its ownership of the paper. Treasury Department officials will please note the following.

The Chronicle is a political organ. It endorses and opposes candidates for public office. It editorializes on bond elections, Vietnam, inflation, government policies -- in short, all the things every newspaper talks about.

It seems Chronicle Publisher and Endowment President Creekmore does not read his own paper.

The following questions appear on the Endowment's 1969 990-A tax form:

12. Have you during the year advocated or opposed (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any national, State, or local legislation? The Endowment answers "no."

13. Have you during the year participated in, or intervened in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office? The Endowment answers "no."

## Selling Out

Foundation power is not quite as safe a game as it used to be. Since Rep. Patman began eyeing around in 1961, the Endowment has been making moves to divest itself of too controversial holdings.

In 1964 the Endowment's C&I Life Insurance Company was merged into American General Insurance Company (the Endowment retaining ownership of the C&I building, however).

In 1965 the Chronicle, controlling interest in Texas National Bank of Commerce, and the low-profit Rice Hotel properties were almost sold to John Mecom. But the deal fell through -- reportedly because Mecom couldn't raise the cash.

In May, 1968, American General co-operated again by picking up the TNBC stock for \$42.8 million -- and though the trustees must have grieved to see

Uncle Jesse's bank go, they did have a \$34.5 million profit for solace.

The Chronicle is still on the market, but only for the right party. "The Endowment has tried to get rid of all of its controversial property," says John T. Jones Jr., nephew of Jesse, and who himself resigned as an Endowment trustee in 1965 in order that he might relieve the foundation of controversial Radio Station KTRH and KTRK-TV. But, continues John, the man who eventually buys the Chronicle "must be a Texan." Who presumably will continue in the understanding that the Emperor is never naked.

One needn't be much impressed, however, by the Endowment's face-lifting program. Equally as significant as its sale of "controversial" holdings is

its choice of purchasers. The Endowment is taking great care that no liberal Yankee corporate-baggers be let in the back door to Houston's establishment.

Income from the sale of such properties as those above has been reinvested, primarily in less obtrusive stocks and bonds.

Holdings are sold, but only to the "right" people. By such incestuous transactions as the TNBC sale, loss of ownership doesn't necessarily mean loss of power. Common purpose imposes common needs and in that situation a telephone call may work as well as stock certificates in the vault. It's not a new concept -- one for all and all for one; you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours; united we stand, divided we fall -- but it does seem to satisfy the Treasury Department.

One last point: the Endowment's "philanthropy." After all, they did give away almost \$4 million last year, and -- what did we say? -- \$18 million during 1961-67.

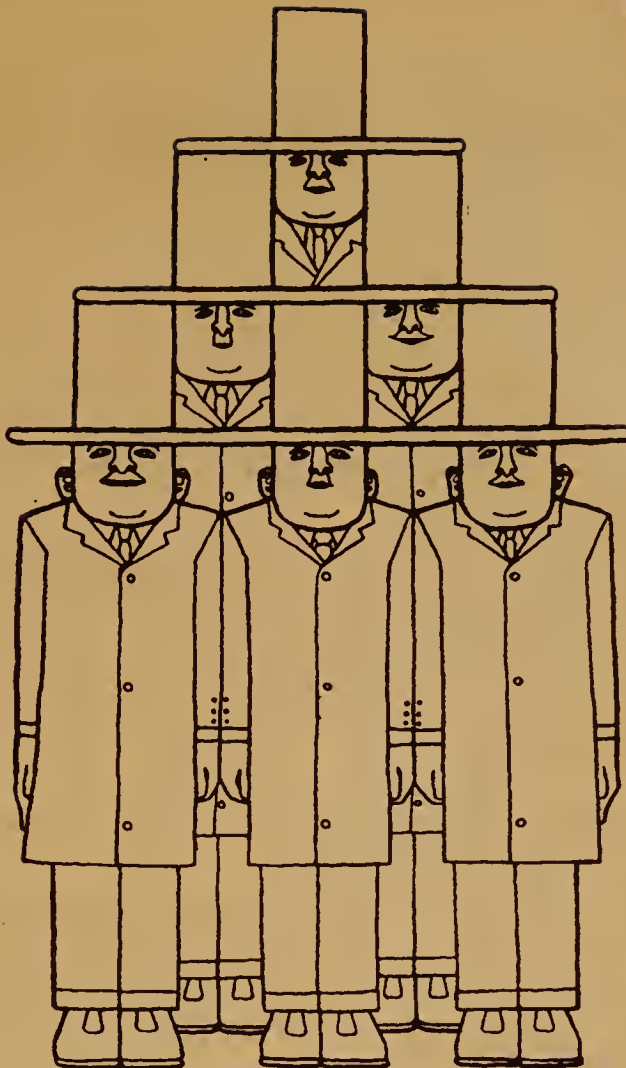
Let's look at 1968 as an example. Of that \$4 million, two grants consumed over half: \$667,635 to Houston Baptist College and \$1,732,841.42 (!) to Texas Wesleyan College in Fort Worth. Can the Endowment ever again find two less boat-rocking, unprogressive outlets for its money? (Time in next year.)

The next largest gifts went to the following: Houston Symphony Society (\$30,030), Houston Independent School District (\$151,750), St. Mary's University in San Antonio (\$50,000), University of Texas Law School Foundation (\$50,000), Episcopal Theological Seminary of the South West in Austin (\$30,000), Marian County Hospital District in Jefferson, Texas (\$40,000), Houston Legal Foundation (\$35,000) and United Fund of Houston (\$60,750).

All safe, respectable, unthreatening. None attack in any significant way the real crises in America today. (Indigent families received \$6,600 from the Endowment.)

What must be the foundation's true politics are expressed infrequently and subtly. "Danger on the Right," a book analysing current right-wing politics, claims the Endowment has given \$20,000 in recent years to the National Education Program at Harding College in Arkansas, a tax-free producer of "far-rightist" films and propaganda. Harding received \$2,000 from the Endowment in 1968. And Radio Free Europe, long a recipient of C.I.A. funds, consistently receives small gifts from the Endowment.

Can you think of a cheaper way to accumulate \$95 million in seven years?





## KING NOTTOC ...

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He issued a vague communique which put the BEW in charge of importing strategic materials, and instructed Jones to provide the BEW with the necessary funds. Jones ignored the directive, and got his friends on Capitol Hill to pass legislation empowering him to veto BEW funds. Such an open challenge to the President's power could not be winked at, so Jones' political supporters withdrew to safer ground. Wallace's steadfast loyalty to FDR had put the President in his debt. In a move designed to stone two birds at once, FDR demanded Jones' resignation as Secretary of Commerce, and appointed Wallace to the position. Jones acquiesced, in bad grace. He issued a thirty page statement the gist of which was that they'd be sorry he was gone when they saw the horrible mess that Wallace would make of things. Jones left his post at the RFC to a hand-

picked subordinate and hung around Washington for awhile, asking the great and the near great to come over to his house, and writing editorials for the Houston Chronicle.

In 1946, at the age of 73, he returned to Houston, and to building his crusty Houston Endowment, which he had established in 1937. To please his wife (he married late in life) he donated money to build Mary Gibbs Jones College for Women, part of Rice University. He followed the affairs of the National Democratic Party, and attempted to influence opinion through the editorials he still occasionally wrote for the Chronicle. Truman's nomination by the party in 1948 was such a drift to the left, in his opinion, that he announced his support for the Republican ticket. He bemoaned the fact that the Democratic Party had departed from its "ancient states' rights principles" and feared that the South was "no longer influential in making its policies".

Jesse Jones finished his life in his Lamar Hotel penthouse, doing the things that old men do. Rich old men anyway. He was not very happy about the liberalization of American government. But he had done more than any other one man to maintain the supremacy of capitalism in American affairs. No doubt Jesse Jones was proud of himself.

### from the mouth of Jesse

Of his loyal chauffeur Moffat, Jesse Jones once said: "He was the best chauffeur in the world; and if I had told him to run over someone, he would not have hesitated."

## Things Go Better?

NEW YORK (LNS) -- Coca Cola, IBM and Ford have made a new conquest in the worldwide struggle for profits -- Czechoslovakia. Despite the popular view that the liberal Dubcek regime -- open to Western influence and to western imperialism -- was replaced by a calculating hardline anti-American regime, it is clear that neither the liberal Dubcek nor the conservative Husak is really turned off to the idea of American business interests helping to run their country.

The Coca Cola Corp. signed an agreement in July to permit a Czech canned goods company to produce and bottle Coke in Moravia and "IBM made a big splash in Czechoslovakia with the largest computer show believed ever held in a Communist country," reports

### Business Week.

The entire invasion and changeover of governments notwithstanding, the British affiliate of the Ford Motor Company is delivering the largest order since 1965 to Czechoslovakia.

And on the import side of the business deals between Czech "socialists" and American capitalists, R. David Fris of Simmons Machine Tool Corp., which imports heavy Skoda machine tools from the Czechs, said "Although it's a hell of a thing to say, the Soviet invasion helped us. People became sympathetic toward Czechoslovakia and our marketing became easier. Four or five years ago, reticence to buy a Communist-made machine ran pretty high. Now all the big names are our customers."



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## school board sniffs out dopers

SMITHTOWN, L.I. NY (LNS) -- The Smithtown town board has endorsed a plan to give blood and urine tests to junior and senior high school students to determine if they are drug users. The four local school boards, who have the legal authority to implement the plan, have not yet taken a position on this latest invasion of privacy.

## libyan women break bonds

Libyan women must be released from their traditional social bondage, according to an announcement made recently by the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council.

The new government of this Arab nation has promised that women will be "given priority in the society." The consequences of this change should be to reverse the traditional female position in which women are permitted to play little or no part in Libyan social or political life.

Libyans have held strongly to the old Moslem belief that women should be veiled or completely covered in public.

Observers speculate that women will initially be given the right to work and to take part in public life under the new revolutionary government.

Out of the total Libyan population of 2 million, about half are women. Less than one percent work. Most marry young and stay at home.



from the Seed (Chicago)

# Abortion...

continued from 11

quoted as saying, "the fewer abortions, the better we look." It seems his hospital has to raise funds from many wealthy people who don't approve of abortions.

What the legal abortion in this country means is that a woman who wants one must have money, influence and infinite patience with a bunch of politicking males who have little understanding of the tragedy of unwanted pregnancies.

## What Can We Do?

In some parts of the country, groups of people have organized to help women who need abortion

care.

In Southern California and New York City, a Clergyman's Counseling Service offers 24-hour telephone service to women who need advice on abortions, or who want names of competent abortionists.

In San Francisco, Pat Maginnis, co-author of The Abortion Handbook, set up the Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, which conducts classes on abortion, maintains lists of inexpensive and reliable abortionists in Mexico and other countries, publishes a newsletter and organizes campaigns to influence legislators on the abortion question.

Also in California a post-abortion care clinic has been organized by volunteer nurses and doctors. Most of the complications from abortions like infections and massive bleeding, occur sometime after the operation and women can go to this clinic to be treated.

In Houston, virtually nothing has been done in an organized way to help women who need abortions. So let's get together. Once convinced that it

is our right as women to control our own bodies, once convinced that it is not the right of men -- politicians, priests, doctors, hospital administrators -- to determine what baby we should or shouldn't have, our first step is to organize. We'll never accomplish much as individuals working in a vacuum.

We need an abortion counseling service that would advise women who need abortion care and direct them to competent, sympathetic physicians.

We also need an educational committee on abortion to distribute literature and send speakers to address different groups, such as those on college campuses and with churches.

We could organize as women to attend hearings, panel discussions or meetings on abortion and demand a voice.

And while it has been argued in this series of articles that abortion reforms are inadequate, we should not oppose people or legislators who are fighting for reforms. Instead, we should try to explain to people why abortion reform isn't the solution.

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## rock

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ACLU 524-5925  
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Space City News 526-6257  
The GRAPE BOYCOTT needs you - 228-4682

Job Co-op: anyone knowing of intelligent firms or those which hire freaks, call 529-2951  
Venereal Disease Facts (free) 529-5353  
(1115 N MacGrigor)

Listings for Space In are FREE. Phone Don at 522-8074 at night if you have a happening you want listed.

Cougar Den Dance: "Saturnalia," 8 pm Friday Sept 25, University Center U of H. FREE.

Coliseum  
Oct 2 - 8pm Donovan  
Oct 5 - 1 pm Rock Jubilee Jefferson Airplane  
Grateful Dead, Poco, The Byrds  
Love Street  
Sept. 26, 27 Children Big Sweet  
Oct 10-11 - Nazz  
The Wall, 9801 Airline  
Sept 26 - The Shayds  
Sept 27 - Manlove

The Association: Oct 3, at 7 & 9:30 pm, Houston Music Theater (SW fwy at Gessner). Tickets at Foleys (\$.50 discount if bought before 28th)

RALLY and CELEBRATION, sponsored by Houston SDS, Northside RYM, and Space City News, at The Hill in Hermann Park - 3:30 pm, Saturday Oct 4. Speakers will include: Noel Ignatin, Hilda Vasquez, representative from Chicago Black Panthers (see details p2) Plus - speakers from SCN, Women's Liberation Houston SDS and others (Hopefully a rock band) BE THERE!

FRESH EGGS - new old funk dry goods store ... 1920's golf club bags, live cactus, things, good stuff like that. 4715 Fannin.

\*\*\*\*\*

## films

Rice Media Center Film Series  
Rice Biology Auditorium 8 pm  
Call Ja8-4141 for ticket information  
Sept. 25 - Robert Nelson Films - 14 films by the film instructor of the San Francisco Art Institute.  
Oct. 2 - three films - Busby Berkeley. 1930  
Oct 9 - Doctor Chicago by George Manupelli

University of Houston Film Series (748-6600)  
Classic film series Monday 7 pm, Library Audit  
October 6 - Hunchback of Notre Dame FREE  
Cinema 60, 7 & 10 pm Oberholzer Hall .75  
Oct 1 - Blowup  
Oct 8 - Those Magnificent Men in their Flying Machines  
Oct 15 - In Cold Blood  
Student Assn. Series - Director's Showcase, Fridays 8 pm, Library auditorium. 50 cents.  
Sept 26 - Fearless Vampire Killers  
Oct 3 - Repulsion (Roman Polanski)  
Oct 10 - Magnificent Amberson

Special showing: "A Man and a Woman," Oct. 2-3, 7:30 pm, Houston Room, 50 cents.  
Oct 9 - 7:30 pm Library Auditorium .50  
The Pusher - Lenny Bruce

The 2nd Annual Super-Galactic, Earth-Shattering Cosmic Film Festival. Attic Theater, Cullen Building, University of Houston.  
Oct 11-12, 7:30 pm (plus 3 pm Sunday): features, serials and shorts. Popcorn! \$.75

University of St. Thomas Film Series. 8 pm  
Tickets are \$1.00 and may be obtained only by calling ahead, Univ. of St. Thomas 522-7911  
Sept. 30 - Variety  
Oct 2 - Hour of the Wolf  
Oct 7 - Potemkin  
Oct 9 - Student films  
Village Theatre (2412 University 528-1561)  
Alice's Restaurant - Arlo Guthrie  
Oelman Theatre (Main at Richmond 529-1257)  
Easy Rider - Peter Fonda

\*\*\*\*\*

## tv

Sept 26, 7 pm, Ch 8. "Y Ahora, USTED" - Live, local program focusing on the problems and needs of Houston's Mexican-American community.

Every Wednesday 9 pm - Channel 2 - Then Came Bronson - Michael Parks - Human Lassie on Motorcycle travels across country.  
Saturday, Sept. 27 - 8:30 pm - Channel 13  
Johnny Cash Show - Creedence Clearwater Revival

KUHT-TV Channel 8  
Sept. 28 - 6pm - Bill Smith Show - Florence Fisher tells her story of drug addiction and prostitution.  
7pm - Festival Dubrovnik - Mstislav Rostropovich, Isaac Stern and other stars in concert in the Yugoslav capital.  
9 pm - Ofoeti - drama about a boy's search for a troll - American Conservatory Theatre  
Sept. 30 - 7 pm - Aaron Copland, composer - on his life and work.  
8 pm Net Festival - In Search of Rembrandt many pictures from museums plus films of his house and school.  
9:30 - The Investigator - investigation into the illegal and dangerous use of drugs particularly the effects of the hallucinogenic drugs, amphetamines, barbituates.  
Oct. 1 - 9 pm - On Being Black: "Wine in the Wilderness", about the difficulties inherent in the American black experience.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ins / outs

A meeting for women interested in the abortion problem has been tentatively scheduled for 7 pm, Thursday Oct 2, at Space City News, 1217 Wichita. Interested women should call SCN at 526-6257 some time before that date to confirm time and place.

Draft Counseling workshop held off until Saturday Sept 27, all day beginning 9 AM, at 1217 Wichita. Counselors from Austin and local draft lawyers will be there to talk about Selective Service law and procedure.

Houston Public Library - through Sept. 30 - Life Drawings "Humanity in Art"  
Oct. 1 - Mark Storm - western painting & adv. art

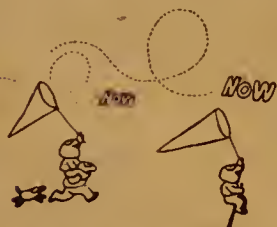
St. Thomas Contemporary Arts Museum - Tues-Fri 9-5  
"New Realism" Sat-Sun 1-5

Sierra Club meets the 3rd Tuesday of each month in the auditorium of the Great Southern Life Ins. Co. 3121 Buffalo Speedway. Oct. - "Alaska"

Restaurants  
Family Hand, 2400 Brazos (at McIlheny) \$.60-\$1.50  
Phil's Restaurant - Richmond and Mandell  
quart of ice tea - .10, .50 - 1.75  
Blue Star Cafe - Milam at Elgin - 24 hr.  
Cantonese & American \$1.75-\$3.00

U of H -- Oct 4 --vs Mississippi State 7:30 pm  
Astrodome. football

Anyone interested in helping set up a community food-buying cooperative store (pooling \$\$ to buy wholesale) call Cam at 526-6257.



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